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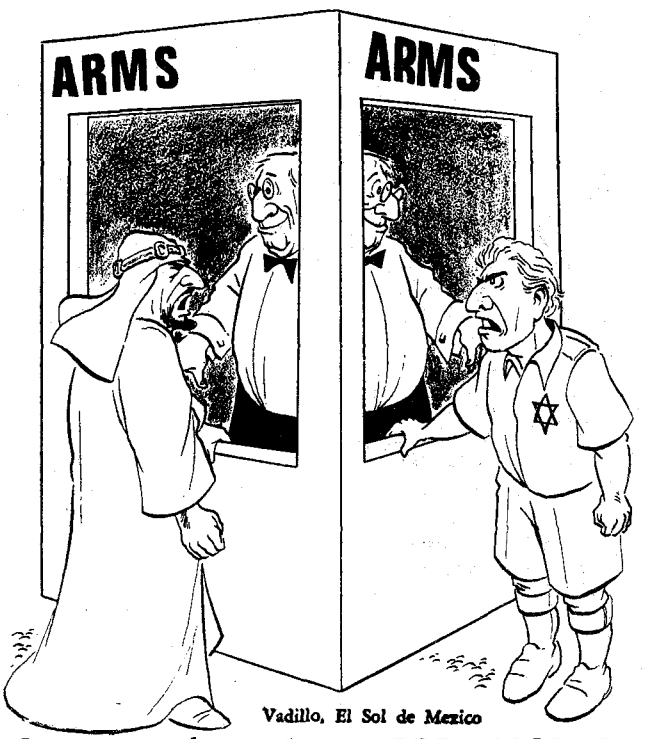

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LETTERS

looking for the truth

New York City
In "Myths and Realities: The Rights of the Palestinians" [*The Nation*, May 1], Frank Gervasi shows himself to be, at times, a man whose good sense is exceeded by good will "tilted" toward the Israeli establishment. The initial jihad of Arabs against Israel's right to exist has, over time, become tempered by reason; even PLO spokesmen now acknowledge the legitimate claim of the Jewish state. . . .

The plain fact is that Israeli state policy is Ashkenazic and theocratic, and therefore discriminates against non-Jews in many ways. A significant but seldom discussed corollary of this is the inchoate myth of "mass *aliyah*," with its possible territorial entailments. Certainly, the current rush to settle Jews in occupied lands could be seen as a *fait accompli* toward related purposes. . . . *Alan Bahr*

Johnson City, N.Y.
Frank Gervasi's article seriously distorts Middle East history in an effort to absolve Israel from fault regarding the plight of the Palestinian Arabs. Gervasi claims that as far back as July 1949 Israel offered to incorporate in its own territory the Palestinians who had abandoned their homes during the 1948 fighting. . . . The reality is that . . . Israel offered to take the refugees (only 200,000 out of a total refugee population of approximately 700,000) and natives (75,000) in the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip if it were allowed to annex the area (see Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*, Middle East Institute).

The result was the physical and social displacement of the Palestinian people. To acknowledge the reasons for the continued conflict, while hardly a solution, at least serves to demystify Israeli-Palestinian relations. . . .
Simon Rosenblum

New York City
I defy Mr. Bahr to name a single PLO spokesman who has acknowledged "the legitimate claim of the Jewish state" as he contends. Typical of the attitude toward Israel of PLO spokesmen, for instance, is that of Zuheir Muhsin, boss man of *Saiqa*, and the number-two man in the PLO. Interviewed December 12, 1975, by Hamburg's *Die Zeit*, Muhsin was asked whether the Palestinians' "legal claims" would be satisfied with a Palestinian state limited to the former Jordanian-held West Bank and Gaza. Muhsin replied, "No, never. For we want every piece of land, every field, every village, and every house back which once was ours." Muhsin then admitted this would mean "national suicide" for the Israelis, adding, "This will be the case when they're before us on their knees, when we have smashed them to pieces militarily." Mr. Bahr's charge that Israeli state policy is "Ashkenazic and theocratic" is too absurd to merit a reply. Surely he must know that nowhere in the Middle East is there as much religious liberty as there is in Israel, and that the Jewish state is now more Sephardic culturally than Ashkenazic.

My advice to Mr. Rosenblum is to look for sounder sources of information than the notoriously pro-Arab Middle East Institute. *Frank Gervasi*

New York City
Congratulations on Frank Gervasi's excellent and timely article. . . . As a *Nation* reader for more than twenty-five uninterrupted years, I have patiently awaited the day I would be treated to a straightforward statement of facts on Israel's efforts to overcome the murderous attempts by the surrounding Arab states of Left, Center and Right persuasion to destroy Israel and its inhabitants. . . . I would hope that *The Nation* in its attempt to maintain its deserved reputation for intellectual integrity and even-handedness will treat us to more of the same type article. *Seymour Gross*

EDITORIALS

Coming to Grips with Carter

After the six primaries of May 25, no candidate of either party has the nomination in the first-ballot bag, and we now head toward "climactic" June 8 in California, Ohio and New Jersey. Those three big-state primaries will obviously be important, but it seems clear already that the real climax for both parties will come at or near convention time.

In terms of national policy, it makes little difference whether the clumsy Ford or the slick Reagan gets the Republicans' nod, and we gladly leave that determination to the GOP's 18 per cent of the voting population. On the Democratic side, there are two interesting phenomena. One is the effect of the "new faces" (Church and Brown) on the late primaries. They are rather like the metallic chaff which used to be dropped by bombers to confuse the radar and get it off the main target. That, of course, is Jimmy Carter.

The fact that the chaff-candidates can have this effect on so many Democratic voters reflects a high degree of indecision on their part. Reluctant to embrace the front runner from Georgia before they must, they turn to any "new face" as a way of postponing the final commitment. (Art Buchwald's Uncle Phil from Brooklyn might make a good run, he suggested the other day, if he could still enter a primary.)

The other phenomenon worth noting is the inevitable revival of speculation about the availability *in extremis* of Senator Kennedy. The ritual of Presidential politics would have been violated if that had not happened. But, we think, Kennedy had a serious reason for letting it happen. The mere rumor (which did not provoke a Shermanesque denial) serves to put pressure on Carter to harden his positions on the issues, as Kennedy has suggested he should. Kennedy is the leading proponent in Congress of serious legislation in the liberal-activist tradition of his party (on health and welfare and the social issues in general). A mere hint from him is bound to have an effect on a candidate who cannot reach the magic number of 1,505 without support from other sections of the party than are represented by his own laboriously acquired delegates.

Udall is still the best man, in our view, and he continues to show his fine qualities whenever he opens his mouth. But the primary voters are not rallying to his standard in numbers sufficient to make him anything but a source of pressure, like Kennedy, to push Carter in the right direction. Carter will depend on these two, among others, to unite the Democrats and produce a platform that makes sense and can win in November. He shows signs of understanding that central fact of the politics of 1976.

The Hays Scandal

Rep. Wayne Hays (D., Ohio), once described by a colleague as "the meanest man in Congress," is also one of the most powerful. He has a tongue like an adder, the

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temperament of a corner bully, and as generally bilious a nature as can be found in the corridors of the Capitol. None of these personal characteristics would matter much if he were not in a position to use them for his own narrow purposes on questions of broad national interest. The Congressional seniority system, combined with his own ruthlessness, has made Hays into a petty dictator able to control much of the way the House conducts its business (we were about to say "affairs").

We are now told, by a couple of enterprising *Washington Post* reporters, that Hays has been using his dictatorial powers for personal satisfaction, so to speak, in a quite remarkably scandalous way. It appears that he installed a woman of unspecified talents ("I can't type, I can't file, I can't even answer the phone," she declares) in a luxurious hideaway office in the Capitol, at $14,000 a year. The woman herself put a label on her functions when she told the *Post* that she was Wayne Hays's "mistress." After a quick, panicky denial, he has admitted the relationship, but maintains, to the amusement of everyone in Washington, that the liaison was in no way related to his young friend's employment on his staff.

When the late Adam Clayton Powell got into trouble with his fellow Congressmen for similar shenanigans and was forced to "stand aside," as they say in those hallowed halls, Wayne Hays was one of his most assiduous prosecutors, or persecutors. He reveled in the unfolding tale of the Harlem Congressman's frequent trips to Bimini, at government expense, with a receptionist from his office. Hays's thundering moralisms were like the outraged cries of one who has just discovered original sin.

Not that the Congressman was against travel in principle. On the contrary, he is a serious contender for the hotly contested title of champion Congressional junketeer, and even interrupted the probe of Powell's odd "official" travels for a swing around Europe of his own. Now this disreputable figure seems to be hoist with his own appropriation—or he will be if the so-called House "ethics" committee, now absorbed in its elaborate investigation of who leaked the Pike Committee intelligence report to CBS's Daniel Schorr, can spare the time to do its proper job on Hays.

That body has so far not shown much appetite for taking on the case of this powerful figure in the internal affairs of the legislature. If it gets its courage up and goes to work on him, there will be a nice irony to it because Hays bitterly opposed the creation of the "ethics" committee, attacking the very idea as "suicidal self-immolation."

The serious side of all this is the effect the scandal will have on the reputation of Congress. The public will enjoy the spectacle and cheer at the disgrace of an influential Congressman; some may even be inclined to excuse his capers on the well-worn ground that "they all do it." That phrase was much heard during Nixon's Watergate scandal. It expresses the disillusionment of the public with all its institutions, most especially its government.

But we are going to have to live or die with an increasingly arrogant and unresponsive system of government, tipped heavily toward an overweening Presidency, unless the legislature can re-establish itself as the check on the Executive which the Constitution intends. That cannot

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happen if Congress treats Wayne Hays as just another errant "old boy."

It is not Hays's personal morals that are offensive, from the public's point of view. These, however unappealing, are his own business. The public's business is to see to it that public officials do not use public funds for their private purposes, whatever they are. The House must clean house. A little "self-immolation," a purifying bonfire with Hays at the stake, might be a good way to start.

Safeguard or Shutdown?

"Death is going to happen to all of us one of these days. . . ." So says Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, the former Governor of California, in opposition to that state's Proposition 15, which is on the ballot for the June 8th election. (The proposition is known to its backers as the Nuclear Safeguard Act; to its opponents as the Nuclear Shutdown Initiative. In characteristic California fashion, voters must vote "Yes" to say "No" to unchecked expansion of the nuclear power industry in that state.) Edmund G. Brown Jr., the present Governor and Presidential candidate, is at least as capable as his father of announcing the inevitability of death as if it were his own discovery, but on this issue he is saying nothing.

The word from California is that voters are about evenly divided between those for and those against Proposition 15 (and about one-third have not yet decided). It is a hard decision for them to make, one on which the experts are sharply split. The issues can be defined in various ways. The paramount one is safety, simple human survival. Coming after that life and death question is the matter of the state's economy and how it would be affected by a decision to limit, even end, nuclear energy generation unless there were strong additional safeguards.

California, the largest state, has unique problems in the whole area of energy. Among others is the fact that it lacks coal and is short of water to cool nuclear reactors. Beyond those, its land lies over a series of geological faults which make it extraordinarily prone to earthquakes and thus to critical damage to the reactors.

Across the continent in the second most populous state, New York, serious consideration is being given to the question of what to do about building more nuclear power plants, and groups in some twenty-eight states between the two coasts are moving into the nuclear safety discussion which the federal government has tried to make its own province.

Elsewhere in this issue, the New York Assemblyman Daniel Haley lists the five criteria which a bill he is sponsoring would require before any more nuclear power plants could be built. They include proof of adequate emergency cooling systems for the plants' hot cores, acceptance of full liability for damages (which could be catastrophic), approved plans for nuclear waste storage, guarantees of adequate fuel supplies and publication of evacuation plans for a neighboring population faced with imminent disaster. (One calculation in California has it that if the containment dome of a nuclear plant near San Diego "blew," following some natural or man-made disaster, there would be just eight and a half hours in which to evacuate that city's million people; those who failed to make it out would be "irradiated to death.")

In California there are all kinds of complications about the vote on Proposition 15. One of them is that the opponents of the measure (the pro-expansion people) are outspending its supporters by a factor of roughly ten to one. The opponents, naturally, include most of the country's power interests and reactor manufacturers, and the courts have ruled that there need be no limit on what these corporations can spend. The money for the grass-roots supporters of the proposition comes from yard sales and pizza parties, making the contest hardly a fair match. Not surprisingly, but unfortunately, organized labor has lined up with the corporations in opposition to the measure—another sad example of labor being forced into unsound positions on matters of public policy by the need for jobs in an economy that seems to give it no choices but bad ones, as in defense spending. It should be noted, though, that the nuclear generating business is an extremely capital-intensive, not labor-intensive, industry.

It was once the conventional wisdom that nuclear energy was on the crest of the wave of the future—safe, clean and cheap. All three of those qualities are now in the gravest doubt. We are even rapidly running out of nuclear fuel, as uranium reserves diminish, and the long-promised self-perpetuating breeder reactors seem to recede into an indefinite future as the years go by.

If we were a legislator in New York or a voter in California, we would mark our ballot for stringent controls on the nuclear energy business. That means a vote for the Haley bill and a "Yes" on Proposition 15.

The Thoughts of Youth

In past weeks we have accused California's Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of a certain trendy mysticism as he chases the will-o'-the-wisp Presidency. Several readers with a taste for his brand of "cultural politics" have chastised us for our harshness toward this Star of the West. In expiation we have therefore assembled a few of the Sayings of Jerry Brown, scattered in the wake of his modest campaign vehicle. Here is a sampling of his "positions":

"I have no goals. They will evolve as I go along."

"A little vagueness goes a long way in this business."

"Look, very few candidates give details. Programs? What programs? You're using words that have no meaning in my head. I'll provide leadership."

Campaigning in Maryland (where he won with the aid of a very concrete and dirty machine), Brown said that the real issue was not who was avoiding specifics but "who is highest in the level of abstraction."

"A President has to project a vision, something I call planetary realism, to combine foreign policy and ecological problems, to make people understand that we all drink water out of the same well and breathe the same air. You won't need to spend as much militarily if you could promote this idea—there's power in ideas and ideals."

On Hugh Hefner's Los Angeles mansion where he attended a fund raiser (minus bunnies): "It's part of the diversity of America. It's just one of the pieces of the very complex mosaic of American life."

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"All I guarantee is a lot of hard work and to tell you what is working and what is not."

"The world is changing. We need to be open to that. I think my candidacy stands for a renewal in the political process. If I were nominated and elected, that in itself would symbolize the vitality and energy of the country, that we were putting the era of Vietnam and Watergate behind us and going to work on constructive problems."

"I'm more willing [than Carter] to question assumptions in a more relentless way. I'm sympathetic to the critique of technology, even though I recognize that technology is the engine of a modern economy. That's the lesson of Vietnam and the Great Society."

"I'm just trying to understand life and myself. There's a saying that in the beginner's mind there are many possibilities, in the expert's very few. People whose minds have been ossified by the same thoughts, the same patterns of mind, miss a great part of the world that's in front of them."

"Things just are. There's no big mystery. Things are very, very simple. But things happen each day that don't lend themselves to rigid control. The future, to a large extent, is not within your control. That's one of the problems with planning. There's an organic, natural flow to things."

On refusing to ride in a big, official limousine: "I cannot relate to that material, possessory consciousness."

"I'm not conservative—I'm just cheap."

There they are, the thoughts of the Governor of the nation's largest state, running for the Presidency in 1976. They were not selected for their peculiarity but for their representativeness. We invite our readers to interpret them as best they can.

Command Politics

In the midst of the Presidential campaign—where a developing issue is the size of the Defense Department budget in relation to both international security and the national economy—the usual special pleading by the different military branches ought to be meticulously separated from the political process. Out of the constitutional provision that the President is Commander in Chief has developed the fundamental policy that elected officials are dominant over the armed forces—and the tradition that the nonelected uniformed services stay out of politics.

But nothing, to paraphrase the old Army Air Corps song, will stop the Department of the Air Force. Like the Navy wanting its carriers come hell or high water, and the Army its own helicopters, the Air Force in collaboration with defense contractors is promoting its own favorite weapon, the B-1 bomber, which has been branded as potentially the most costly weapons system in the American arsenal.

Testifying before Congressional committees is acceptable—in fact, it should be the only forum for advocacy. It therefore comes as a surprise—well, a *little* surprise—that the Secretary of the Air Force is issuing canned speeches for uniformed commanders, "suitable for presentation to both Air Force and civilian audiences," with the avowed aim of proving that the Air Force is regarded as "a national resource."

One of the widely reproduced speeches—delivery time, fifteen minutes—carries a foreword urging that Air Force professionals have a basic responsibility to speak before civilian groups. These professionals are defined as "qualified officers, noncommissioned officers, civilian employees" and even "Air Force retirees" on pension, all of whom are encouraged to serve as mouthpieces for the special interests of one service.

The fundamental line is that tax dollars spent on national defense do "double duty" in the Air Force, that Air Force technology creates jobs, spurs industry, improves American life. (See "Labor: The B-1's First Victim" by Stefan Ostrach, p. 688.) Among the benefits cited —literally—is the "TV dinner," developed for World War II bomber crews, and "environmental protection," because 9 million acres of federal land are under Air Force control.

This is propaganda of the rawest kind. To send Air Force officers and others out on the speech circuit in the midst of a political campaign already full of bombast about America's defenses is a violation of military regulations and traditions in this country. The Secretary of Defense should order the practice stopped immediately.

HERBERT MITGANG

Hymn to Teeth

A reader, Jerry Richard of Bellingham, Wash., has sent us the following extract from "Berenice," a short story in which Edgar Allan Poe describes his hero's infatuation with a particular aspect of his cousin's charm. He finds, as other readers may, a contemporary relevance:

> The teeth!—the teeth!—they were here, and there, and every where, and visibly and palpably before me; long, narrow, and excessively white, with the pale lips writhing about them, as in the very moment of their first terrible development. Then came the full fury of my *monomania*, and I struggled in vain against its strange and irresistible influence. In the multiplied objects of the external world I had no thoughts but for the teeth. For these I longed with a frenzied desire. All other matters and all different interests became absorbed in their single contemplation. They—they alone were present to the mental eye, and they, in their sole individuality, became the essence of my mental life. I held them in every light. I turned them in every attitude. I surveyed their characteristics. I dwelt upon their peculiarities. I pondered upon their conformation. I mused upon the alteration in their nature. I shuddered as I assigned to them in imagination a sensitive and sentient power, and even when inassisted by the lips, a capability of moral expression. Of Mad'selle Sallé it has been well said, *"que tous ses pas étaient des sentiments,"* and of Berenice I more seriously believe *que toutes ses dents étaient des idées. Des idées*!—ah here was the idiotic thought that destroyed me! *Des idées*!—ah *therefore* it was that I coveted them so madly! I felt that their possession could alone ever restore me to peace, in giving me back to reason.

Mr. Richard's concluding comment to us is: "Try not to think about that as Carter smiles his way to the White House."

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Atomic Watch in the Empire State

Daniel Haley

In 1969, the first experimental breeder reactor was proposed for the quiet, *Brigadoon*-like little village on the banks of the St. Lawrence River where I live. At the time, I was in the middle of my first campaign for office, and people started urging me to come out for it (jobs!) or against it (dangerous!). As it turned out, that breeder went off to Tennessee, but the controversy has been boiling ever since.

In 1971 New York State set up a board for the siting of nuclear plants. Last year we changed the emphasis of our state's Energy Research and Development Authority from nuclear to renewable sources. This year we are tackling the nuclear question head-on.

Our current bill is called the Nuclear Responsibility Act. It simply says that, yes, you certainly may build nuclear plants in New York State, if you can show that you have tested your emergency cooling systems, that you accept full liability for any damages your plant may cause, that you can show there's a place to store your wastes safely, that you have a supply of fuel for the life of your proposed plant, and that you have prepared and will publish the evacuation plans needed for an emergency.

Simple requirements. Why would anybody want to build a billion-dollar plant without first making sure that everything works? Detroit would never market a new model without first testing the car's emergency brake. Yet the emergency cooling systems in a nuclear plant are little more than emergency brakes, designed to keep the heat produced by the atomic fission reaction within the specified temperature range (high enough to boil water). A federal test of the emergency cooling systems of nuclear plants is finally being planned. We'll all be relieved if it works. Six simulated computer tests have been made. They have all failed.

The federal government says, through the just extended Price Anderson Act: "If a nuclear plant causes more than a half billion dollars damage, no one will be held responsible." Much has been made of the prediction, in a report prepared for the former Atomic Energy Commission by Professor Rasmussen of M.I.T. that there is only one chance in a billion of a nuclear accident killing 20,000 people and causing $17 billion worth of damage. Hardly anyone noticed that his predictions also showed that the chances of an accident causing a billion-dollars worth of damage and killing 3,000 people were equal to the chances of drawing a royal flush in five-card stud poker!

That being the case, the federal government can continue, if it wishes, to exempt from liability existing plants, or any that manage to get built. But it is obvious to me that a state, through its regulation of utilities, has a perfect right to refuse a power company permission to build a facility for which it will not accept full responsibility. The nuclear industry goes to exhaustive lengths to assure us that these plants are safe. Why then is it so reluctant to take responsibility for its creations?

The third point, storage of wastes, is perhaps the most widely perceived problem with nuclear power. Twenty-five years after we started to make peaceful use of the atom (in great part to salve our conscience for having produced the atomic bomb), we still have no idea what to do with the wastes. If that can be solved, once again we'll all be relieved and say bravo.

What about fuel supply, the fourth point? As a former businessman, I am amazed that anyone would even remotely consider building a billion-dollar plant without making certain that plenty of fuel would be available for the economic life of that investment. Yet everything indicates that there isn't enough fuel. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that there is enough readily available uranium in the United States for only ten years; the General Accounting Office of Congress agrees. Denison Mines of Toronto predicts a worldwide shortfall of 11,000 tons of uranium by *1978*. People say there is plenty of uranium to be had at higher prices, and that more will be found as the cost rises. But there is not underway (nor even started) sufficient exploration to find the quantities needed for the number of reactors proposed. And, of course, there are the costs of exploration. Already the cry has gone up for government help. When will the subsidies end?

To solve the fuel problem, the breeder reactor is being pushed by those who still think it can be built safely, economically and efficiently (but other experts believe we can have any *two* of these attributes at the same time but not all three). If we were to depend on the breeder for our nuclear fuel supply, to the extent that it produced plutonium, (well-named for the god of the underworld) the important question is: how long does it take to breed? The answer to that is almost fanciful: *thirty years* to breed a quantity of fuel equal to what is put into it. And we are ten-to-fifteen years from completing our first breeder reactor—*if* we can figure out how to build it!

The fifth point of the bill simply says that you must have evacuation plans and they must be public. For years we made sure that everyone knew where bomb shelters were located, and every school conducts regular fire drills. Why should an evacuation plan for a nuclear plant be kept secret from the people nearby? At Brown's Ferry, Ala., catastrophe was averted a year ago only because someone did *not* follow the manual. Until the last minute, nobody in the surrounding area had the remotest idea of what should be done if a real catastrophe struck.

Many conscientious, dedicated people have worked to give us dominance over the atom. Many of them take almost personal affront that the end product of all their work could be called into question. Those of us asking these questions must understand their sensitivity. Still, the questions must be asked.

Then there are those whose financial control over the energy delivery system has made them proponents of

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Daniel Haley, a New York State Assemblyman from St. Lawrence County, is chairman of the State's Legislative Commission on Energy Systems, a leading advocate of public power, and author of the bills mentioned by him in this article.

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nuclear power, the most capital-intensive way to generate power now available. Utility profits are related to the amount of capital invested, and a utility generating plant is therefore one of the safest investments ever devised. Surely this is the only area in which an executive can say: "I'm going to make this investment and *you*, the ratepayers, are going to pay for it." Once a state utility regulating agency has approved a plant, the consumers pay for it in increased rates. New York State's rates are already the highest in the country.

An article in the March issue of *Critical Mass* disclosed the fact that five big financial institutions (all in New York City) have significant ownership positions in nuclear utilities and in the two big nuclear plant manufacturers, Westinghouse and General Electric. Perhaps their most important concern should be what would happen to their investments if *any* nuclear power plant *anywhere* in the world were to melt down and cause a catastrophe? Would any nuclear plant anywhere be allowed to continue operating? And what will happen to their investments when (not if) in a few years we run out of uranium? My best advice to those financial institutions and to those making their decisions is "Watch out, or you may lose an awful lot of money!"

ARAB OIL AND AMERICAN ARMS
THE MIDDLE EAST BURNS HOTTER

Israel: Inside the Armed Camp

ASHER WALLFISH

Jerusalem

Israel has entered its twenty-ninth year of independent statehood with quite a few cards stacked against it. But important as those cards are, in terms of Israel's image, it is difficult at this point to predict whether, or how much, they will weaken Israel as a going reality. The combined numerical weight of the Communist bloc, the Moslem countries and the Third World, is so massive that any initiative, serious or trivial, condemning Israel in an international forum is certain to succeed. This form of pressure has built steadily since the Yom Kippur war of October 1973. It has enabled the Palestine Liberation Organization to attain some considerable legitimacy in world bodies, although the PLO itself is reluctant to form a government-in-exile.

The country has not yet evolved an effective political formula to cope with the challenge to its world image, as presented by the PLO's new international voice. The majority of Israelis reject even the tactical formulas regarding the Palestinians suggested by persons inside the mainstream—leaders like Yitzhak Navon, chairman of the prestigious Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, or Aharon Yariv, former Army Intelligence Chief. A still larger majority will have no truck with proposals to accept West Bank statehood for the Palestinian Arabs, advanced by figures like former Gen. Matti Peled, who have severed their ties with the mainstream.

The Israelis realize glumly that oil has given the Arabs a weapon which they never wielded until 1973, and before which the industrialized nations have cowered once and may cower again. Oil wealth invested in the West has also endowed the Arab bloc with a second weapon, which can be used independently to undermine sympathy for Israel.

In their twenty-ninth year, the Israelis find themselves with economic problems as formidable as ever. To be sure, they have no real unemployment; indeed, industry is crying out for hands. But college graduates often discover that posts are hard to find, a fact which has sent thousands of highly educated Israelis overseas, and deters many potential immigrants from the Soviet Union.

The economic headache expresses itself in a balance-of-payments gap that never seems to shrink. Israel carries a crushing defense burden, which has kept it since 1973 dependent on the American treasury. It also carries a heavy load of health, education and welfare programs which it can shoulder only with the help of Jewish philanthropies abroad. Dependence on the United States for defense funding, uncertainty as to how long it will continue, and suspicion that, if continued, it could incur political pressures have especially caused growing concern in Jerusalem.

The U.S. Presidential election may be an event as significant in Israeli history as it is in the history of the United States itself. Premier Yitzhak Rabin has already warned his people that Washington will attempt to promote fresh political initiatives. This prospect would loom in 1977, Rabin said, having in mind the installation of a new President whose actions in the Middle East would not be tied to electoral calculations.

Rabin does not expect the United States to strive for a full peace in the Middle East. He envisages, rather, an

Asher Wallfish, British by birth, has lived and worked in Israel since he came there as a youth in 1948. He is at present a correspondent covering the Knesset for the Jerusalem Post, *and also contributes to the* Daily Mail (*London*) *and to the Australian and New Zealand broadcasting networks.*

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attempt to reach an overall settlement that would not entail final peace agreements but would constitute what he calls "an arrangement." This overall settlement would, he warns, involve some new role for the Palestinian Arabs. He has told the people that such fresh political initiatives will confront them with a serious challenge, but has not indicated how that challenge can best be coped with. Perhaps the Israeli Prime Minister has not discovered the answer; perhaps he has, but declines to state it until the time is ripe.

The internal political dialogue on foreign policy in the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, hardly reflects awareness that 1977 may witness changes developed in Washington and precipitated by the existence of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The effect of such an initiative will depend on how adamantly this country digs in its heels, and how inexorably the United States is prepared to turn the screws. Rabin has repeatedly counseled that Israelis must gradually throw away the crutches of financial aid and weapons purchase, if they want to be less exposed to pressure.

The internal political dialogue contains various levels of agreement and disagreement, but these do not necessarily follow the division between coalition and opposition, or between left wing and right wing. In the 120-member Knesset, the four men of the Moscow-oriented New Communist Party are totally alone in demanding that Israel withdraw from all the occupied territories, without receiving a negotiated *quid pro quo* from the Arabs. There is no dialogue between the New Communist Party and the rest of the Knesset. Some parliamentarians engage in shouting matches with this party—called "Rakah" for short, from its Hebrew acronym, but most parliamentarians either sit reading newspapers while Rakah men talk, or walk out of the chamber for a smoke.

Another three Knesset members from tiny leftist parties favor returning all the occupied territories except for minor rectifications, in return for peace or something approximating it. These three are close to Matti Peled and the recently formed Israel-Palestine Peace Council, a small, ineffective body with no support outside a narrow intellectual circle. Much has been written abroad about the Peace Council by writers who are either unaware of its slight weight here, or who have some ax to grind about the Peace Council's message. It has no influence and need not be taken seriously by the political analyst.

Over the past year, two Labour "doves" have made statements about the Palestinian Arabs which have failed to find an echo within their own dominant party, and have also created misconceptions abroad. Aharon Yariv, the former Intelligence Chief, and Yitzhak Navon, head of the Knesset's most influential committee, outlined various conditions under which Israel might talk to representatives of the Palestinian Arabs. The latter would have to abjure terrorism, recognize Israel as a sovereign state, renounce the PLO's "Palestine Covenant" doctrines, and accept Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967, which would guarantee "secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force" and a just settlement of the refugee problem.

Observers abroad jumped to the erroneous conclusion that Yariv and Navon's suggestions signaled a rift within the Labour Party. True, Premier Rabin criticized their suggestions, but these were never brought to any Labour forum for debate or decision, and neither Yariv nor Navon have requested it. They both explain their proposals as tactical moves designed to put the ball into the Palestinians' court. If the Palestinians say "no," they place themselves in the wrong; if they say "yes," they will have either to change their skin or split their movement. Neither Navon nor Yariv is sure that the Palestinians will have an answer.

Many Labour members admit that their two colleagues have devised a brilliant formula to embarrass Yasir Arafat and his advocates in the West. However, says Rabin, anybody can play the formulas game. The Palestinians might well devise their own brilliant device—one that sounded tactically moderate and would embarrass Israel in turn. Moreover, Rabin contends, once Israel agrees to enter negotiations with the Palestinians, there is no telling where those negotiations might lead.

If predictions here are borne out, that Washington will produce some fresh approach to the Palestinian issue in 1977, Yariv and Navon may revive their proposals, with a better chance of convincing their colleagues. But essentially everybody in Labour, Yariv and Navon included, feels that the long-term aim of the PLO is to set up a state *in place of* and not *alongside* Israel, as is the alleged doctrine of a secular non-Zionist Arab sovereignty. The Middle East experience has persuaded even the "doves" within Labor (not to speak of the "hawks" in the big rightist Likud bloc) that talk of a secular state in the Arab world is eyewash prepared for naive Western consumers. According to the prevailing Israeli view, the Assyrians and now the Kurds in Iraq, the Copts in Egypt, the Christians in the Sudan and now the Christians in Lebanon, bear witness to the principle that the Moslem Arabs tolerate alien elements as inferiors only. According to this same prevailing Israeli view, and putting it bluntly, nobody can prove to them that the Arabs are not waiting for the opportunity to massacre them, sooner or later. Nor can anyone convince them that the world would raise a finger to stop this massacre.

Little therefore has changed in Israeli minds since 1967 to upset the accepted theory that the territories they occupied then must somehow be used as a bargaining counter in negotiations along the road to peace. As Defense Minister Shimon Peres put it once again last month: "Israel is not willing to trade territories in the present generation, for the prospect of peace in the next generation. We don't have the geographical depth to make a mistake and still remain alive."

But this country's argument of "trading territories for peace" does not convince the outsider with regard to the Golan Heights and the West Bank, as it does with regard to the Sinai desert. That is because of the settlement programs being carried out in the first two areas, but not in the Sinai. The national consensus is that

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the Golan Heights cannot be evacuated entirely, because they dominate northern Israel topographically, and past experience has shown that the Syrians can make life impossible. As far as the West Bank goes, Israelis are split between the school that advocates settlements and a military presence along the River Jordan only, and the school which sees the region as the historical and religious heritage of the Jewish people, never to be relinquished. Neither school can point to support for its views from any sympathetic government abroad.

The West Bank is the rock on which Premier Rabin's coalition government may well founder. For the long term, Rabin promises his orthodox coalition partners, the National Religious Party, that no agreement will be signed with Jordan over the future of the West Bank, without first calling elections. However, the West Bank problem also exists in the short term. Powerful sections of the National Religious Party, on whose votes Rabin depends, have allied themselves with the right-wing Likud opposition, plus a small but not negligible element within the Labour Party itself, to press for Israeli settlement all over the West Bank. The alliance, which goes by the Hebrew name Gush Emunim (Loyalist Bloc), has forced the government's hand more than once since 1967 by establishing partisan settlements on the West Bank and then defying the government to eject the settlers.

Supporters of Gush Emunim call them idealists; their critics call them fanatics. The demarcation line between idealism and fanaticism is easily blurred in a people whose history has known trauma so often, and whose experience since statehood has been so scarred by incessant conflict with its neighbors.

Premier Rabin has been reluctant to bring the issue of settlement on the West Bank to a head, not only because it could split his coalition but also because it could threaten the unity of his own Labour Party, and —even more dangerously—divide the nation. So he has generally procrastinated. Meanwhile the Gush Emunim, by mass marches through the West Bank countryside and announcements of future settlement bids, has insured that the West Bank settlement issue remain permanently in the headlines. These tactics have not contributed to calm among the Arabs of the West Bank.

The mood of the West Bank Arabs is one of transition. The municipal elections of April 12 returned a new generation of local politicians, younger than their predecessors in the city councils, more modern in outlook, better educated and, above all, radical and nationalist in their politics. The new municipal leaders have to choose between their natural wish to adopt a tougher posture toward the Israeli Military Government Administration, and their common-sense realization that, for the well-being of their constituents, they must get along somehow in day-to-day practical affairs with the occupiers.

Defense Minister Peres, who is in charge of the occupied areas, believes that the new municipal leaders will reach an accommodation with his Military Government Administration about the business of running their towns. Peres is not so sure about the Arab population in the area at large. Political elements not represented in the new councils, for example, the pro-Baathists who are now feuding with the PLO because of misunderstandings between Yasir Arafat and Syrian President Hafez Assad, are expected to stir up ferment. The school population, above all, can be counted on to return to the streets again and again. The Arab youngsters, who have always been the backbone of protest in the Arab world; see every political issue in black or white. They do not share their elders' concern for livelihoods that can only be threatened by riots, detentions and curfews.

Although most West Bank Arab personalities say they look to the PLO leadership, they have by no means severed their practical links with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. West Bank civil servants, paid from Amman until 1967, still receive salaries or pensions as the case may be from there, in addition to the salaries paid them by the occupying authority. West Bank towns still receive development loans and grants from the treasury in Amman, as well as from the Israelis. After the April 12th municipal elections, the new mayors were invited to send their specimen signatures to the Jordanian capital, so that they could take over their predecessors' financial commitments and qualify for further financial aid from King Hussein.

Vadillo, El Sol de Mexico

Despite Israel's military strength, it is often weak and irresolute politically. Yitzhak Rabin is still an unseasoned Prime Minister, without adequate experience in domestic politics. He realizes that he was thrust into power because the central group in the Labour Party had available nobody else who had worked his or her way up from

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the ranks. Rabin lacks the authority to dominate his two top colleagues, Defense Minister Peres and Foreign Minister Allon, in the planning and execution of policy. Open disagreements between Rabin, Peres and Allon, continually reach the newspapers.

Rabin's government, like some of those before it, conveys an impression of weakness because it often and obviously takes domestic political factors much more seriously than it does the realities of the world outside. When the need arose to make major foreign policy decisions, such as for the Sinai interim agreement, the Rabin government overcame its internal divisions and hammered out a stand. But between crises, it seems, the government lives from day to day, never crossing bridges until it comes to them, and indeed often denying until the last moment the bridges' very existence.

The coalition enjoys such a modest parliamentary majority, and its constituent parties are so often at odds with one another over religious and economic as well as foreign policy issues, that reaching clear-cut decisions always entails the danger that some partner or some splinter group will break away. Hence Yitzhak Rabin has learned to delay—unless the issue at hand is so monumental that even the most quarrelsome of coalition members will agree to agree for the sake of an overriding national interest. □

Syria's Odd Role in Lebanon

DAVID CAPLOE

Syria has confused matters by turning up on the "wrong" side. It has long been portrayed in the American press as the preserve of revolutionary fanatics, motivated almost solely by hatred of U.S. imperialism and what Syrians consider its local implantation, Israel. Thus many Americans were startled to read in their newspapers that Syria's role in the Lebanese civil war, echoing that of the United States, is to suppress the leftist-Muslim-Palestinian alliance in favor of the anti-Palestinian, Christian Right—a position described by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as "highly responsible."

The solution to this seeming contradiction lies in the answers to the following questions: What are Syria's goals in the context of the Arab-Israeli struggle? What are the dynamics of the Lebanese conflict? What are Syria's specific aims in Lebanon, and why has it chosen this particular strategy to achieve them?

To begin, Syria has two primary goals in the Arab-Israeli context: First, it wants to maintain pressure on Israel both to give up the Syrian territory it conquered in 1967 and to start the process of coming to terms with the Palestinians. Second, the Syrians are desperate to avoid another war with Israel. They are aware that the Israeli military machine, augmented by U.S. aid during and following the October war and given the military neutralization of Egypt in the south, would almost certainly overwhelm Syria if serious fighting broke out between them.

Thus the civil war in Lebanon puts substantial obstacles in the way of Syria's ambitions. On the one hand, it fears that a degeneration of the situation there could easily draw it directly into the conflict, thereby eliciting a response from Israel, already suspicious that Syria may attempt to turn Lebanon into a stage for confrontation. On the other hand, the heavy involvement of the Palestinians in the Lebanese fighting can only draw their attention away from the political and diplomatic aspects of the struggle with Israel, and cause the hard-won Arab momentum to falter.

So much for Syria's motives; the next step is to consider the nature of the civil war in Lebanon itself. Three powerful historical forces play upon one another in that small country: the legacy of colonial rule; the explosion of the accumulated tensions of Lebanon's particular socio-economic development; and yet another tragic example of the terribly destructive effect of the Arab-Israeli conflict on all the parties concerned.

For almost fourteen centuries, Christian and Muslim Arabs coexisted fitfully in a fashion which was distinctively Lebanese. There were conflicts between the various communities, often quite serious ones, but just as often the conflicts were doctrinal disputes within religious camps, as between Maronite and Greek Orthodox Christians, or Sunni and Shiite Muslims.

With the coming of French rule after World War I, however, the colonial policy of divide and rule changed the pattern of those relations. Observing that religious distinctions existed, the French hardened them into divisions by giving the Christians a favored status in colonial Lebanon. Not surprisingly, the Christian Arab leadership attempted to institutionalize its position of ascendancy over the Muslim communities. And as predictably, the Lebanese Muslims resented what they considered Christian collusion with the colonialists.

By the end of the French mandate, the Christians were in firm control of Lebanon's political and economic institutions. This dominance was reflected politically in the constitution of 1944, which specified that Lebanon be governed according to the so-called "confessional" system —i.e., that offices be distributed on the basis of fixed representation in Lebanon's political institutions for each of its many ethnic communities. In line with this principle, the top offices in the Lebanese Government must by law be filled by members of specified ethnic groups. The President must be a Maronite Christian, the Premier a Sunni Muslim, the head of the Assembly a Shiite, etc.

Under the constitution, moreover, the Christians have a stipulated majority of 6 to 5 in the ninety-nine-seat

David Caploe is a fellow of the Third World's project of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

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Lebanese Parliament. The situation has developed to the point that, in a district assigned to the Maronites, only a Maronite can ever be elected to Parliament, even though there may no longer be a significant Maronite population in the district.

Whether or not this division of power was an accurate reflection of the Lebanon of 1944 (and it probably was not), it is certainly not today. The Lebanese Muslims now clearly outnumber the Christians. Part of the Lebanese civil war is thus a demand by the Muslims for parity with the Christians, if not a complete secularization of the political process.

Underlying this political demand, however, is the fact that most of Lebanon's economic power is also held by the Christian leadership. Like much of the rest of the Middle East, Lebanon has undergone a tremendous social transformation since World War II. In many ways the most Westernized of the Arab countries, it is the one most obviously changed. But whereas other developing nations have at least begun the process of large-scale industrialization, Lebanon's "economic miracle" derives, especially since the expulsion of Western influence from Egypt after the revolution in 1952, largely from its position as the banking, commercial and transport center for Western corporate interests in the Middle East. Unlike industrialization, which creates the new social force of a working class, this kind of economic activity calls for administrative, service and white-collar personnel, rather than manual labor.

As a result, the Christian communities were the chief beneficiaries of Lebanon's economic expansion, since their control of Lebanon's institutional life made them the channels through which Western corporations had to work. Lebanon's pattern of economic growth tended to strengthen, rather than undermine, the pre-existing social structure. According to Y. Sayegh in *Rulers of Lebanon*, among presidents of industries, 105 are Christian and twenty-one are Muslim; in banks, Christian presidents outnumber Muslims by 11 to 2; and in services, the ratio at the top between Christians and Muslims is 40 to 5.

But the pattern of social inequality does not break cleanly along the Christian/Muslim line. The situation is further complicated by the existence of a Muslim upper class, made up for the most part of communal heads and their followers, whose power and wealth derive from traditional bonds. They were not troubled by the inadequate Muslim representation in Parliament; indeed, they saw that a stronger and more legitimate state would only weaken their authority. And joining this group in supporting the socioeconomic *status quo* were those Muslims who, having achieved success by their own efforts, were reluctant to have their hard work jeopardized by social upheaval.

The final group of importance in the underpinnings of the Lebanese civil war is an ideological Left, comprised of both Christians and Muslims. In principle, it is opposed to the current distribution of power in Lebanon, but, as in most other Middle Eastern countries, it is made up of factions that disagree on precisely what should replace the current structure. Opinions range from Moscow-line Communists to radical Nasserites, from Syrian Baathist to Iraqi Baathist, and from radical Populism to Trotskyism.

Thus the struggle in Lebanon is not a religious war between Muslim and Christian over theological or doctrinal issues. Instead, it is a conflict between two groups, broadly defined: the haves, represented politically by a Right comprised mostly of Christians but with an important Muslim segment, who want to preserve things in Lebanon pretty much as they are; and the have-nots, represented politically by a predominantly Muslim Left, with a significant Christian and ideological component, who are calling for a fundamental redistribution of power. The issue of the Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict has exacerbated these tensions to produce the tragic bloodletting we are witness to today.

In some ways, Lebanon has been affected less than any other country in the region by the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has not fought a war with Israel since 1948 and has maintained a studied neutrality. As a result, it has retained at least its territorial integrity. But it has not retained its sovereignty—much of the military struggle between Israel and the Palestinian guerrillas since the 1967 war has been fought in Lebanon. Taking advantage of its weak state apparatus, and delicate communal situation, the guerrillas have used Lebanon as a staging ground for their operations against Israel. In retaliation, Israel has carried out numerous air raids and border crossings into what is nominally Lebanese territory. And the Lebanese Army has taken little action against either side.

That failure is what best symbolizes—for both Right and Left—the inadequacy of the Lebanese state. The Lebanese Army disintegrated long before the beginning of this year and the appearance of Lieutenant Khatib and the Lebanese Arab Army. No government can survive intact if it cannot prevent guerrillas from running armed camps on its territory, as the PLO does in Lebanon, or a foreign army from seizing and holding the international airport of its capital city, as the Israeli Army occupied Beirut Airport in January 1969. As a result of this deterioration of Lebanese authority and the open warfare between Israel and the Palestinians in southern Lebanon, much of that area was devastated, and its defenseless Palestinian and Lebanese inhabitants fled to Beirut. The destitute Palestinians, recently arrived in the capital and its suburbs, joined the Lebanese poor already there to create a "belt of misery" around the city. The mingling of the two groups speeded the politicization and heightened the discontent of the Lebanese working classes, who no longer blamed the Palestinians for their problems, but instead began to identify with them.

Accordingly, the Right has opposed the increasingly open presence of the more than 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon on two grounds: politically, the autonomy practiced by the PLO in running the camps and maintaining its own police and armed forces challenges the hegemony of the Right in the country's political, economic and social life; ideologically, the presence of the Palestinians has drawn Lebanon more deeply into the Arab nationalist struggle with Israel—a conflict in which the Right, looking to the West and especially the United States, does

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not wish to become embroiled.

The Left, however, not only supports the Palestinian struggle against Israel ideologically, but sees in the independent behavior of the Palestinians a chance to overturn a power structure in which the majority of Lebanese are underrepresented politically and economically. Thus when a right-wing group attacked a busload of Palestinians returning from a demonstration on April 13, 1975, killing twenty-seven, Lebanon burst into full flame.

The Syrian response has been surprising. Ideologically, Syria wants to encourage all over the Arab East regimes that are sympathetic to the Palestinian and Arab struggle against Israel. Furthermore, the open hostility of the Lebanese Right to the Palestinians has been a constant source of grievance to the Palestinians and thus to Syria. It would seem, then, that the Syrians would support the overthrow of the anti-Arab nationalist Right and encourage the rise of the Lebanese Left to power.

In fact, the Syrians have acted in a directly contrary fashion. Why? One consideration, noted above, is that Syria wants the PLO to concentrate on a diplomatic and political struggle with Israel, and not get entangled once again in the internal politics of another Arab country. Further, it is eager to stop the Lebanese civil war short of a partition along the line of communal divisions. An Arab "Christian" state, born of seemingly irreconcilable differences with the Muslims, would almost of necessity align itself with Israel. In addition to the strategic problems that would raise, it would lend tremendous force to the Israeli argument that non-Muslims or non-Arab minorities in the Arab world can have security only in their own separate states. On the global level, it would restore a good deal of legitimacy to Israel's increasingly unpopular resistance to recognition of the Palestinians.

In addition, the Lebanese Left, as now constituted, is a potential threat to Syrian influence in Lebanon. The Syrians want to be sure that Lebanon does not become, as Iraq has become, a radical Arab nationalist state opposed to Syrian Baathism, either ideologically or politically. The argument is that, if the Left wins in Lebanon, it should do so with Syrian help, or at least with Syria's blessing. In this way, the Syrians would make it clear that, if the Left wishes to stay in power in Lebanon, it will have to remain sensitive to Syrian wishes. And there is little doubt that the Syrians will also use the leverage they have gained as protector of the Right not only to stop it from harassing the Palestinians but also to encourage it to take a more active role with the other Arab states in confrontation with Israel.

This points to a deeper motive for Syria's intervention on behalf of the Right. It believes that the political and diplomatic struggle against Israel requires as much Arab unity as possible, and it is therefore not interested in promoting an upheaval (whether revolutionary or not) in Lebanon. Simply as a matter of expediency, it is only logical that Syria should support the *status quo ante*.

Thus as events develop in the region, it seems that the Syrians have evaluated the situation as follows: whatever happens, a full-scale war with Israel must be avoided. Within Lebanon, Syria's top priorities are to head off both partition and, perhaps more important at this point, the complete victory of the Left. This dictates, at least in the short run, appeasement of the Right. Thus some kind of compromise solution to the struggle must be reached which will not radically alter the *status quo*, but yet contain at least some symbolic concession to the very real grievances of the Left.

With these general principles in mind, the Syrians appear to have embarked upon the following course of action: The least costly way to mollify the Left is to bring about the resignation of the right-wing President Suleiman Franjieh. At the same time, the rightist demand that the transfer of power not appear as the result of leftist intimidation must also be met. So the removal of Franjieh and the choosing of a new President must be orderly and in some sense consistent with the procedures of the prevailing (or formerly prevailing) order.

But this process of accommodation can proceed only if the fighting stops. The right-wing armies will keep a ceasefire only as long as no wholesale constitutional changes are introduced. As for the Left (and here, no doubt, the Syrians must have taken a big gulp), Syria can use direct means to assure that it stops fighting: the Left receives its arms from the Palestinians, who in turn get theirs from Syria.

After a long period of suspense, the first phase of the Syrian plan came to a successful end. On April 1, both sides in the fighting agreed to a ten-day truce in order to allow Parliament to meet and pass a constitutional amendment which would enable it to elect a successor to President Franjieh, whose term constitutionally expires on September 23. More than a week later, delayed by the fighting which continued to rage in spite of the truce, the Parliament finally met on April 10 and passed the amendment. A day later, the leftist groups accepted an extension of the truce until the end of April.

In line with the decision to pay obeisance to the constitutional setup, the amendment was sent to Franjieh for his signature. Franjieh held off until April 24, and then moved the issue back to the Parliament, where speculation centered on two Presidential candidates, both Maronite Christians: Raymond Edde, a former right-wing politician from a family of high standing who, early in the crisis, had split with the right-wing irredentists, and who opposed the Syrian intervention, thereby gaining popularity with the Left; and Elias Sarkis, Governor of Lebanon's Reserve Bank, a nonpolitician who narrowly lost to Franjieh in 1970, and who seemed to have Syrian support. In compliance with Syrian wishes, sixty-six deputies in the Lebanese Parliament elected Elias Sarkis President on May 8. As of this writing, President Franjieh has not resigned.

The direct Syrian military intervention against the Left began long before the truce, with the blockade of Lebanese ports through which the leftists were receiving ammunition. Syria's intervention took a big leap on April 9, when its troops seized the border outpost of Masnaa, on the Beirut-Damascus road. This direct action followed the failure of Syrian troops, infiltrated into Lebanon under the guise of the As-Saiqa Palestinian guerrilla group, to inhibit the left-wing offensive. After the incursion at Masnaa,

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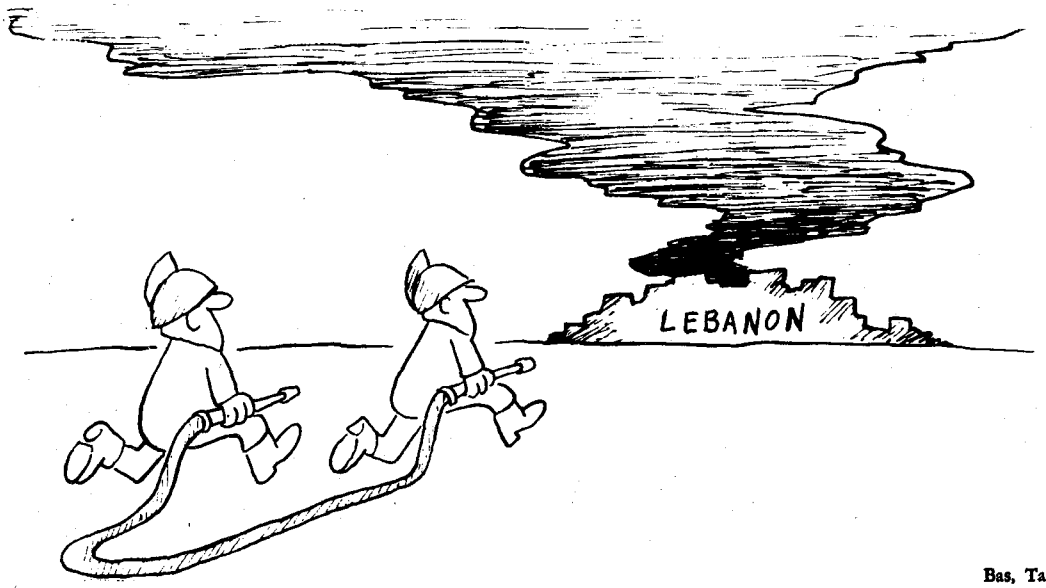

Bas, Tachydromos (Greece)

Syria moved more troops into such strategic areas as the Bekaa Valley in the south, and along the Beirut-Damascus road, cutting off the logical approach of the leftist forces to the right-wing redoubt north of Beirut.

Despite this activity, Syria's direct steps into Lebanon are likely to be unhasty and deliberately measured. The Syrians realize that, while a small-scale intervention, especially if communicated beforehand to Israel through the United States, will be tolerated, a large-scale, or even potentially long-term, Syrian military involvement might be viewed in Jerusalem as the start of a new war.

In this situation, paradoxically enough, Israel has become the ultimate protector of the Lebanese Left. If Syria were to intervene heavily in Lebanon, it could only be with the assurance that Israel would not reply—a guarantee that can come only from the United States. Thus if Syria does intervene, it will be to assist the Right, and with prior assent from Washington. If that occurs, the game is over for the Lebanese Left. Their best hope lies in Israeli intransigence toward the United States.

The active enmity between Syria and the Lebanese Left, both traditional supporters of the Palestinians, has put the PLO in a very tight squeeze. On the one hand, Syria has been the most steadfast patron of the Palestinian cause among the Arab states, both regionally and internationally. On the other hand, the Lebanese leftists have always supported the Palestinian struggle, fighting side by side with them against attacks on the Palestinians by both the Right and Israel. While politically it appeared that the PLO would follow the Syrian lead, there was a strong emotional identification with the Left.

The dispute between Syria and the Palestinian resistance came to a head at the end of March, when Syrian President Assad told Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt that the Left would have to call off its highly successful military offensive. To insure Jumblatt's compliance, Assad also told Yasir Arafat that, if push came to shove, the Palestinians would have to choose between Syria and the Left. To make his ultimatum more convincing, he not only told Arafat that he would cut off arms, but threatened that Syria would pursue a so-called "Egyptian policy" regionally, giving minimal support to the Palestinians while looking out only for Syrian interests. That implied very clearly a possible disengagement with Israel in the Golan Heights along the lines of the much-denounced Sinai agreement.

Whether Assad was delivering a credible threat or not, Arafat couldn't take the gamble of bluffing him, and agreed. The irony here is that Syria had to put pressure on the Palestinians, the very people whose struggle had motivated the Syrian strategy in the first place, in order to make that strategy successful. Despite the acquiescence of the moment, the Syrians realize that a great deal of Palestinian resentment is building up against them—a sentiment which will have to be dealt with carefully, lest it light new fires, and this time all over the Middle East.

In this way the Syrians have come to oppose actively a leftist, pro-Palestinian movement while propping up an anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab nationalist right-wing power structure. They thereby find themselves allied with the United States, which is involved in the same effort for quite different reasons.

But even here, the situation is less peculiar than it might first appear. For Syria, as well as other radical Arab nationalist regimes such as Algeria and even Syria's Baathist rival Iraq, is deeply committed to becoming a modern, industrialized state. Thus despite its radical rhetoric and ties to the Soviet Union, Syria, like Algeria and Iraq, has not been shy about importing American technology and permitting American investment.

In addition, there appears to be a political convergence between the United States and Syria even within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Both want the mandate of the U.N. Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) on the Golan Heights extended beyond its May 30th expiration date, to minimize the chance of a war and, in the longer view, as a necessary step in the search for a political defusion of the Palestinian issue in the context of a Middle East peace settlement.

Certainly there must be some re-evaluation on the part of U.S. policy makers vis-à-vis the Middle East. While

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there is no telling what will happen in the future, the Lebanese crisis has shown the dismal failure of the Kissinger strategy of building up Egypt and Saudi Arabia as the mainstays of U.S. power in the region. For the first time in more than twenty years, since Nasser's rise to power, there has been an almost complete absence of an Egyptian presence, let alone leadership, in an inter-Arab dispute. Along with everything else, the Lebanese crisis has served to point out some basic flaws in a Middle East strategy that leaves Syria almost entirely out of the U.S. orbit.

One cannot say now whether this U.S.-Syrian dalliance will someday turn into an alliance, or will dissipate with the resolution (in one way or another) of the civil war in Lebanon. What is clear is that this U.S.-Syrian relationship is a new and potentially very important factor on the already overcrowded and overcomplicated Middle East stage. □

THE NEW FUNDAMENTALISTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

A new movement reminiscent of the fundamentalist surge associated with the Rev. Billy Sunday and William Jennings Bryan, which culminated in the famous Scopes trial of July 1925, is emerging in the Sunbelt states. It differs in important respects from the fundamentalism of the 1920s; for one thing, it is largely made up of "evangelicals," who today number perhaps 40 million in the mainline Protestant denominations alone. The evangelicals are at odds among themselves on some points, but agree in stressing personal faith, Bible teaching and evangelism. Their major prophet is the Rev. Billy Graham—the Billy Sunday of our time—whose latest book, *Angels,* has sold 1.3 million copies since it was issued last September. The Southern Baptist Convention, with 12.7 million members and an average yearly growth of 250,000, is the largest single evangelical church.

At the moment, a feud is brewing in evangelical circles which may well initiate a fundamentalist controversy of national dimensions. It became evident last month with publication of the Rev. Harold Lindsell's *The Battle for the Bible.* Lindsell, who edits *Christianity Today*, the most influential of the evangelical publications, is a founder and former faculty member of the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, Calif. It is the nation's largest independent seminary and a major force in the evangelical movement. As Lindsell sees it, his former colleagues at Fuller are straying from the straight-and-narrow path of Biblical infallibility, or what he calls "strict inerrancy." To him the Bible, in its original texts, is totally free of error on all subjects to which it speaks. In fact, he left Fuller in 1964 because he came to feel that the seminary was drifting away from its fundamentalist moorings. His logic is based on a kind of "domino theory": if a single point in the Bible is conceded to be erroneous, then its entire authority is undercut and it must be judged on the same terms as any other book. Not all evangelical theologians share this point of view. Carl F. H. Henry, a professor at Fuller when Lindsell was there and a founding editor of *Christianity Today,* argues that the rejection of "strict inerrancy" does not necessarily lead to the catastrophic consequences Lindsell fears. (See Henry's *Evangelicals in Search of Identity,* which will be issued this month.) But while there are numerous shadings of belief among the leaders of the large and growing evangelical movement, the religion editor of the *Los Angeles Times* (May 3) reports that Lindsell's emphasis on a Bible whose veracity is beyond question is immensely reassuring "to millions who seek security in a world they see coming apart at the seams. And it speaks to a national mood in which many distrust science and intellectualism."

An excellent article by Dr. Dorothy Nelkin of Cornell University on the science-textbook controversy (*Scientific American,* April) sheds significant light on the new fundamentalism as distinguished from the brand that flourished in the 1920s. It is important because the movement's hold on the minds of Americans continues to grow. In effect, Scopes won the battle of Dayton but lost the war; the case against him for teaching evolutionary science was ultimately dismissed, but the word "evolution" and the name of Darwin can scarcely be found in textbooks published in the 1930s. A study made in 1942 indicated that fewer than half of all high school biology teachers even mentioned evolution in their courses. "As late as 1959, the centennial of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*," reports Dr. Nelkin, "the geneticist Herman J. Muller could state that the teaching of biology in public schools was dominated by 'antiquated religious traditions' and that it barely referred to modern research in population genetics and related areas that increasingly refined and supported the idea of evolution." To remedy this situation, the National Science Foundation set up a program in the late 1950s to create some new biology courses for the public schools. When these courses began to be introduced in 1964, a stiff opposition was promptly encountered. For example, in 1969 the California Board of Education, responding to strong political pressures, adopted guidelines which suggested that the Book of Genesis represents a reasonable explanation of the origin of life and that the concept of "special creation" should be taught as an alternative to the evolutionary theory. This effort petered out but the controversy persists in California—a state which, in some respects, is the center of modern technology and technological research.

But there are other paradoxical aspects of the new fundamentalism. Noises from West Virginia to the contrary, most textbook controversies do not issue from impoverished rural folk in Appalachia but, as Dr. Nelkin notes, "from middle-class citizens, many of whom are

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technically trained," and large numbers of whom today reside in the rapidly expanding urban centers of the Sunbelt where the aerospace industries are concentrated. The new fundamentalist leaders are in fact considerably more sophisticated than those of the 1920s. They insist on "equal time" in the public schools, so that the "special creation" model of the universe may be presented. Many of the activists are "scientific creationists" who hold degrees in science. The movement has its own journals, projects, research institutes and proposed textbooks. And in one area at least the critics of the National Science Foundation courses have a point; some of these courses, while no doubt scientifically sound, were not too well styled for teenagers who come from diverse religious and social backgrounds.

What seems to motivate present-day fundamentalists is a growing disenchantment not so much with science and intellectualism as with the fruits thereof, as these began to be reflected during the late 1960s in urban Texas and Southern California centers of industry based on intensive technology. Drawn to these growing communities, thousands of ambitious Americans have rapidly ascended the ladder to middle-class status with important social and psychological "assists" from the evangelical sects with which many had previous ties or into which they were quickly recruited. The older, more firmly established or traditional Protestant churches found it difficult to expand in Sunbelt urban centers as rapidly as population increased, an organization lag which created opportunities the evangelicals were quick to exploit.

Moreover, there is something about the theological style of the evangelical sects that seems to have had a strong appeal to the new middle-class elements who were settling into jerry-built suburban homes in large, raw subdivisions. Like others who have "made it" quickly, these recruits are inclined to attribute their success to the fact that they are hard-working, God-fearing, up-and-coming types. As such, they are easily persuaded that "Washington" is undercutting their newly acquired status with improvident welfare programs and ignoring their values and preferences in federally sponsored educational projects. That billions in federal funds have been poured into Sunbelt urban centers for defense contracts is a consideration their political computers seem to ignore. And their general position makes them not too sympathetic to "social concerns" which, paradoxically, the older more affluent Protestant churches often stress.

Moreover, as protests mounted over the war in Vietnam, and new life styles and "loose morals" spread, the evangelical constituency became increasingly alarmed. Nor were its adherents pleased to see new cults based on Eastern mysticism springing up in their midst. Thorstein Veblen referred to the fundamentalism of the 1920s as a form of postwar "nervous prostration" and, in much the same sense, the new fundamentalism is a reaction to pressures and tensions stemming from rapid social change. Dr. Nelkin feels, quite correctly, that it would be misleading to characterize the new "special creationists" as ignorant, irrational or crackpot. "Their answer to the uncertainties of a technological society," she writes, "was not to reject technology but to return to fundamental religion and traditional beliefs." True, they do feel that science and technology have undercut some of their traditional values. Also they resent the "authority represented by scientific dogmatism" as practiced by cultural elites with whom they cannot identify. Finally—in her view—they fear the centralizing tendencies of what she terms "structured, meritocratic processes." It should be noted that the new fundamentalists are not exclusively white; Southern Baptist ranks, for example, now include thousands of blacks, Chicanos, Orientals, Indians and ethnic whites (see story by Roy Reed, *The New York Times,* May 8). The establishments of the Sunbelt urban centers doubtless look with favor on the new fundamentalists, if only because they exert a powerful conservative influence in state and national politics. "Strict inerrancy" often correlates with *laissez-faire* economics and "strict constructionism" in politics; the more conservative one is in theological matters, the more conservative one is likely to be in politics. Conversely, the more conservative a person is in his or her economic and political thinking, the more potent the appeal of evangelical doctrines which stress personal responsibility and "strict inerrancy" and minimize social concerns. Nor is the new fundamentalism confined to the Sunbelt. The strong appeal of the rigid "anti-Communist" conservatism of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon would indicate that his special brand of evangelism hits a responsive chord, not so much in the street-wise blacks and Puerto Ricans of New York City as in the sons and daughters of the new white middle class in the suburbs, many of whom seem to be reacting against the radicalism of the 1960s and feel a desperate need for authoritarian direction of the "strict inerrancy" variety.

It is hard to see how, in the long run, the new fundamentalism can prevail. In time, the evangelicals will divide on the basis of status, income, education and achievement; indeed the process seems already to be starting. Secular pressures are not likely to abate and modern mass communications pose a problem, although the evangelicals have shown considerable skill at exploiting the mass media. The "newness" of the Sunbelt urban centers will gradually fade and, as it does, familiar financial and social disciplines will be invoked. But there can be no blinking the fact that the new fundamentalism is playing a significant role in the politics of the 1970s, as the earlier variety did in the politics of the 1920s. Both Reagan, a member of the Christian church, and Jimmy Carter, a Southern Baptist, find enthusiastic support in areas where the evangelicals are strong, and both men understand the sensitivities of this new and growing constituency. One of Reagan's most popular punch lines is to say that if we could get Washington out of the classrooms we might be able to get God back in. Even President Ford is said to have turned strongly evangelical of recent months. His son attended Gordon-Conway Seminary in Massachusetts, a leading evangelical school, and he is himself a close friend of the Michigan evangelist Billy Zeoli (*The New York Times,* April 11). In the past, the mixture of religion and politics has often had unfortunate consequences in American life; we seem to be in for another episode of this kind in the 1970s. □

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LABOR: THE B-1's FIRST VICTIM

STEFAN OSTRACH

Twelve billion dollars worth of business: that's Rockwell International's stake in Congressional approval of B-1 bomber production. To help assure itself of this ten-year economic bonanza, the nation's tenth biggest weapons maker has been lobbying hard on Capitol Hill. Rockwell's biggest selling point is the prospect of more employment, but conversations with Rockwell workers reveal that B-1 jobs will do nothing to alleviate their serious long-term job insecurity problems. Rather, they are being bullied into being robot patriots and Rockwell loyalists, because the B-1 is a corporate-political-military creature, produced not for need but by propaganda.

A Rockwell document stamped "For Internal Use Only" was uncovered by Congress' Joint Committee on Defense Production. It lists each member of Congress who sits on a key committee, alongside B-1 contracts located in his or her district. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D., Vt.) was listed, since he serves on the Senate Armed Services Committee. "Rockwell wrote me a letter detailing the purported economic benefits to my state of the B-1," Senator Leahy told me, "but the media got copies of it two days before I did." A few days before an important B-1 vote in the Senate Armed Services Committee, top Rockwell executives flew to a small Vermont subsidiary of the corporation. "Their public relations people turned out all of the local media to hear what an important part of Rockwell's B-1 team the local workers are," recounted Senator Leahy. He says also that employees complained to him that they were importuned to write him letters in support of the program. Although Vermont is one of only nine states that do stand to receive more money in B-1 contracts than they will pay out as their proportion of tax money for the program, Senator Leahy has resisted the pressure: "If we need it we should build it, but I don't think we need it."

Especially in times of high unemployment, any job looks good, but there's no job security working on the B-1 because it's an enormous one-shot deal, produced for a single customer. Spending on a weapons system of this sort produces surges of employment at various stages of the production cycle. Even while work is in progress, employment rises and falls. Over the past eighteen months spending for B-1 development and testing has been at the highest levels yet, but Rockwell has laid off 2,000 men and women. "It always happens in aircraft. The company doesn't offer anything, doesn't give a damn what happens to you," said a laid-off Los Angeles worker with thirteen years of seniority. "It's catching hell. You either have a contract or you don't. You're in or you're out." A company spokesman agreed that such layoffs are "normal." He went on to explain that they are "programmed layoffs" of people who just aren't needed at a given stage of production. But the needs of workers, who have to keep up with house and car payments and insurance premiums, make life on a layoff hard. Pentagon figures show that, in all, 6,000 employees of B-1 prime contractors have already suffered "programmed layoffs." Congressional approval of B-1 production would result in a large number of jobs, but only for a very short time. Layoffs are already programmed to begin again in 1981.

At present, 4,500 production and maintenance personnel and 1,500 engineers and technicians are employed at the two facilities in Southern California where most B-1 work is being done. (The Palmdale assembly plant is operated by Rockwell but owned by the government. Rockwell acquired the huge El Segundo complex from the government in a profitable swap for an office building the company owned, but did not need or want.) Paul Schrade, former UAW regional director, is now a rank-and-file B-1 production worker at El Segundo, where very little productive work is being done. "It's not a factory; it's a warehouse," he told Rockwell stockholders at their February meeting, protesting that management's commitment to the B-1 is at the expense of the workers, who continue to suffer from the job insecurity endemic to the weapons industry. The economy of California, for example, has suffered serious distortion because of the state's dependence on Pentagon spending. In one period of thirty-three months (1968-71), 162,000 California aerospace workers—27 per cent of the industry's work force—were out of work.

On a national scale, spending for weapons systems like the B-1 is actually counterproductive as far as jobs are concerned. The manufacture of modern weaponry depends far more on expensive technology and materials than it does on labor. Rockwell predicts that in 1980, the peak year for B-1 production, 70,000 jobs would be generated—at a cost that year of $3.2 billion. This works out to 22,000 jobs per billion dollars. Estimates based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data show that $1 billion spent in other ways by the government, or left in the hands of taxpayers, would create many more jobs: 34,000 in durable goods production, for example, 36,000 in housing construction, 52,000 in education.

Tom Whalen, spokesman for United Auto Workers Local 887, which is bargaining agent for Rockwell's B-1 workers, agreed that the plan is not a very good employment program. Sitting in his office, just down Imperial Highway from the nearly empty El Segundo plant, he said, "Certainly more jobs can be created for the same dollar in other areas, and we don't argue that point. We do argue the point that the system is needed as a deterrent weapon." When pressed to explain how the B-1 could be effective as a deterrent in an age of fast and accurate missiles, Whalen talked about the need for manned bombers armed with nuclear warheads in situa-

Stefan Ostrach, a researcher with NARMIC, National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (a project of the American Friends Service Committee), has been studying the B-1 program for more than two years. He is also a doctoral candidate in American civilization at the University of Pennsylvania.

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tions like the Cuban missile crisis. However, military analyst Michael Klare points out that such a military capability is part of a brinksmanship strategy of "nuclear terrorism, Pentagon style"—a tool for the kind of interventionist foreign policy that led to the disaster in Vietnam. It is not surprising that global corporations like Rockwell favor such a policy, since it aims at protecting their access to markets, cheap labor and raw materials around the world. But it is disturbing that the UAW's Whalen seems to be buying such a foreign policy, since it has been carried out at the expense of American working people—they have paid dearly for it in lives lost in war, jobs lost to runaway shops, and purchasing power lost to inflation.

UAW support for the B-1 is especially disappointing when compared with its impressive record of public statements opposing military waste. In a recent publication issued by its Education Department, the UAW declared: "As a nation we do not spend so much money on the military because we need to. Nor do we spend so much because most of us want to. We spend so much and waste so much because the people who gain from the waste are the ones who decide how much is to be spent." The union blamed "other factors, such as profits, personal career advancement, and preservation of already existing jobs" for high military spending levels. "It is significantly sad that job preservation concerns are a political barrier to eliminating military spending waste," continues the union, "since the total economic effect of military waste is to create unemployment."

But the UAW has been trying hard to preserve the jobs of its members who are working on the B-1. UAW representatives in Washington have joined with Rockwell and the Pentagon in lobbying for the program. Top UAW leaders have urged other unions to mute their criticism. And, if the allegations of a group of Local 887 members are correct, the latest UAW-Rockwell contract includes sweetheart provisions to help isolate the effects of B-1 layoffs and to hold down the cost of the plane. The dissident union members have filed an appeal under the UAW constitution. They claim that, for the first time in history, separate seniority lists have been drawn up at Rockwell (formerly North American) for the various product lines. When workers with high seniority are laid off from the B-1, they will no longer be able to "bump" workers with similar skills but less seniority who are employed on the Sabreliner (the company's line of executive jets). And the dissidents charge that a stipulation in the contract, freezing the minimum base wage rate at the 1973 level until October 1977, means that the pay of the thousands of people who will be newly hired to work on the B-1 will be about $1.30 per hour less than it should be—a saving to the corporation of $15 million or more a year. If the plane goes into production, and the appeal is denied, thousands of Rockwell's B-1 workers will be subsidizing the cost of the plane by getting paid $2,700 per year less than their union brothers and sisters earn at Lockheed or McDonnell Douglas. The appeal will be heard soon by the Public Review Board, a panel of clergy and professors appointed to consider such cases. The union leadership has raised procedural questions, but has not denied the substance of the charges.

Pierotti

UAW leaders' cooperation with Rockwell in support of the B-1 does not mean that they are unaware of the long-term nature of the problem. Acknowledging that approval of the B-1 program would only postpone the layoff problem, Local 887's Whalen said, "To look at a job program you have to have something that continuously has a market. . . . After that, what's next? A B-2?" Asked if possible defeat of the B-1 program doesn't require the beginning of conversion planning, he replied, "We have to move in that direction whether the B-1 goes or not." The UAW Aerospace Conference, which met in Los Angeles early in February, passed a resolution expressing the need for conversion of the weapons industry: "The nation has too many real social ills to fail to take advantage of the great skills possessed by these thousands of aerospace workers who are presently laid off and who will be laid off in the next two years." The statement continued: "The skills of aerospace workers are readily adapted to perform the work necessary for the design and building of equipment and systems that could help in the resolution of some of the pressing problems of our society such as mass transportation, energy, education, environmental, housing. . . ."

Conversion is also a common topic of conversation among rank-and-file B-1 workers themselves. They know that technical problems are not paramount as obstacles, and they are particularly intrigued by the idea of building mass transit systems. Living in traffic-snarled and smoggy

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Los Angeles, Rockwell employees are exposed every day to the social need for better transportation, and know they could do the job. But they are also skeptical. "I've never seen nothing like that happen in my lifetime," one told me. They also understand that corporations don't produce what is needed, but what there is money to pay for. As Whalen put it, "To do it in this country you have to make it profitable, you have to make it profitable for corporations to want to do it." Another B-1 worker said, sadly, "The people in power won't pay for mass transit. They'll only pay for violence and death."

Pentagon budgets of $30 billion per year for procurement of instruments of violence and death represent a market hard to resist, and almost all of the largest and most powerful corporations have taken advantage of it. For them, the weapons business is good business. There is only one customer, the Pentagon, which is more than willing to underwrite research expenses and guarantee profits. Spending on the military has another virtue from the corporate viewpoint: it doesn't threaten the vested economic interests of other industry. A major commitment of resources to mass transportation, for example, would compete with the powerful automobile, oil and rubber interests.

The corporations have shown little interest in conversion of the weapons industry, and the few legislators who have raised the issue have gotten nowhere. Only a strong political movement demanding the use of society's resources to meet social needs can make conversion possible. The UAW, understanding that conversion is the only long-range solution to the problems of its military aerospace workers, might take the lead in building that movement, but so far the union has been content to issue general policy statements and appeals to Congress and the President. There has been no attempt to involve the rank and file in the struggle.

Meanwhile, B-1 workers are scared. They know that the plane cannot fulfill the mission it was originally designed for: supersonic penetration at low altitude. They know that the custom-made prototypes have already developed technical problems, and that it is likely that more serious problems will plague production-line models. They fear layoffs, and they fear reprisals from the company if they openly discuss alternatives. After a protest demonstration at the roll-out of the first B-1 prototype at Palmdale in the fall of 1974, the company fired a man for alleged opposition to the program. The grievance disposition filed by Rockwell states the corporation's position: "As the results of complaints by co-workers regarding the aggrieved's comments in opposition to the B-1 program, he was interviewed by Labor Relations and advised that as long as he was accepting the company's money he had an obligation to provide both public and private support for the program." The union fought his dismissal and he was eventually reinstated with full back pay, but the climate of fear persists. Many people were afraid to talk with me, even under assurances of anonymity. An engineer, approached in a bar across from El Segundo, became nervous and began to fidget when the conversation turned to the possibility that the B-1 might be stopped, and he abruptly swiveled on his stool, turning his back in order to escape, when asked what alternative products he could envision for the facility.

If B-1 workers do not begin to organize, to press their union to mobilize support for economic adjustment assistance and conversion planning, to insist that society's productive resources be used to provide socially needed products and stable employment, they will be the B-1's first victims—whether or not the boondoggle bomber goes into production. □

LIES, SECRECY, BRIBERY

DEMOCRACY CAN'T STAND IT

CHARLES MORGAN Jr.

Washington

Every United States President in the past twenty-four years has been a liar. The citizens have come to expect it.

Eisenhower lied about the U-2; Arthur Sylvester in John Kennedy's administration said the government has a right to lie to the people; Johnson became a human credibility gap; Nixon and his men lied to everyone. Lies are inevitable as long as the President has the clandestine power—some would argue the right—to keep secrets from the American people in peacetime. Secrets require cover stories. Cover stories are cover-ups. And "cover stories" and "cover-ups" are simply euphemisms for "lies."

A government that resorts to lies ceases to be a government based on the consent of the people. Thomas Jefferson, in the "genuine effusion of the soul of our country"—the Declaration of Independence—wrote that to secure the right of liberty, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The fundamental requirement for that system of government to work is the people's access to the truth. The people have not had access to the truth for the last twenty-four years.

The greatest danger to be feared from our continued acceptance of lawbreaking on the part of the government lies not in what happens abroad but in what happens at home. Domestic policy cannot be separated from

Charles Morgan is former director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union and was for many years a civil rights lawyer in the South.

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foreign policy. No government that follows one kind of practice in its dealing with foreign countries can be expected to follow another set of practices in domestic policy. If we lie abroad, will we not lie at home? If we burglarize abroad, why should it be thought that we will not burglarize at home? If we bribe officials of other countries, why should we not bribe officials here? If certain methods are used to combat foreign foes, what resistance is there to using the same methods to combat perceived enemies at home?

Margulies

A democracy is different from a dictatorship. Dictatorships can do certain things consistent with their own philosophies, but a democracy cannot do those things. Our definitions of right and wrong do not shift as the borders of countries change. There is a theorem in the study of international affairs which states that the character and actions of countries tend to mirror their adversaries. A controlled press, government ability to monitor private citizens, and centralization of power are terms that should describe dictatorships. In the last years, there have been prolonged attempts to make the descriptions fit us as well.

Even Howard Hunt, of red-wig fame, admitted to the dangers of secrecy. He is said to have ghostwritten *The Craft of Intelligence* for Allen Dulles, where he wrote: "Free people everywhere abhor government secrecy. There is something sinister and dangerous, they feel, when governments 'shroud' their activities. It may be an entering wedge for the establishment of an autocratic form of rule, a cover-up for their mistakes."

The current Presidential selection process is revealing two important issues in the minds of the people of this country—lying and cheating. The primary elections are a rejection of "lying," "lawyers" and "Washington" —a rejection of continued dishonesty and secrecy. Justice Brandeis wrote: "Our government is the potent, the omnipotent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy." Abroad, our national teachers order burglaries and our corporate executives offer bribes. At home, fathers cheat for their sons in the Soap Box Derby. What we have done in Washington threatens to corrupt the country. The people sense it, and they are grasping for ways to end that corruption.

The decisions that will be made about the roles and methods of our intelligence agencies are the decisions we make about where we go as a country. Secrecy, withholding the truth from the governed, is characteristic of a dictatorship, not a democracy. The question before us is whether we will choose to reaffirm our belief in democracy and its principles or refuse to do so.

Preservation of the Bill of Rights as a meaningful limitation on government power demands that we drastically curtail government secrecy while restoring the citizens' freedom from governmental scrutiny of and interference in their lives. The following policies if implemented, would end that secrecy, limit government surveillance and create effective enforcement mechanisms.

¶ The peacetime use of spies in the collection of foreign intelligence should be halted and clandestine intelligence-gathering organizations should be abolished. Precisely drawn criminal sanctions should be enacted against clandestine governmental relationships with citizens and against payments of public or private funds and other things of value, directly or indirectly, to citizens of our own and foreign nations for peacetime spying and espionage.

On a purely practical basis, spies are not worth the price we pay. Ninety-five per cent of our intelligence is overt—satellites, computers, electronics, perusal and analysis of public information. If an H-bomb were about to be dropped on New York City, we would depend on our satellite surveillance to warn us. The spy in the Kremlin cannot do so, for he can't go to the nearest pay phone and give the President the alarming news. The information provided by spies—procured by blackmail, purchased by bribes and filled as it is with political intrigue —is of dubious value. Spies don't obey any laws save the laws of intrigue. And spies are not accountable to the people for their actions. As long as we condone spying, we necessarily condone lying, secrecy and cover-ups. And as a people we abdicate our right to have a say in the conduct of our foreign policy, its aims, its agents and its methods.

¶ It should be made a crime for intelligence agency officials or senior nonelected policy makers willfully to deceive Congress or the public regarding activities which violate the criminal laws or regarding limits to be imposed on intelligence agencies.

Simply put, we should make lying a crime. Insuring the people's right to know demands an end to tolerance of "national security" as a ground for illegality and lying to cover that illegality. The penalty for federal officials who are judged guilty of lying would be the same as the penalty now imposed on citizens found guilty of filing false income tax information.

¶ "Whistle blowers" should be protected and encouraged to reveal activities which violate the law or which limit access to information by the Congress and the public.

Malfeasance and misfeasance in government must be exposed, and no one is in a better position to spot such wrongdoing than public employees who have access

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to the facts. There is a reluctance to decry such abuses, however, when employees are punished or threatened with loss of jobs because they threaten the "efficiency of service." President Ford's secrecy bill, which would gag hundreds of thousands of people in government service, tramples the First Amendment. The Constitution guarantees public employees the right to speak out on public issues, and they should be urged to exercise that right. Had it not been for such people, our government might still be engaged in the systematic deception of the public which has become characteristic of it. The President's bill would insure continuation of the deception.

Beyond protecting "whistle blowers," it should be made a duty of government employees to report criminal misconduct. We should make it a criminal offense for a federal official whose duties are other than clerical, willfully to fail to report evidence of criminality. Thomas Jefferson wrote that "Truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons —free argument and debate—errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them." Public employees, guarantors along with elected officials of the public trust, have the duty, in upholding that trust, to provide the truth that forms the basis of the people's free argument and debate.

¶ The policing of the intelligence community should be designated to a permanent and independent Office of Special Prosecutor, with a mandate limited to the investigation and prosecution of crimes committed by officials involved in this area. There should be a limit on the length of time the Special Prosecutor and his or her staff may serve.

The Special Prosecutor should initiate probes of other government agencies to find violations, as well as prosecute alleged violators brought to its attention. He or she should have access to all intelligence community files and should be empowered to use any information necessary to successful prosecution of a criminal offense. If used, such information must be given to the defendant.

Congressional oversight, faith in a free press and hopes that Presidents elected will not abuse their powers will not solve our problems. There have been intelligence oversight committees in the Congress for thirty years, and they have been as dedicated to overlooking intelligence community abuses as the intelligence community has been dedicated to committing those abuses, and having them overlooked. Tinkering with the composition, meeting times and tenure of such committees gives one no reason to believe that the diligence of future members would be appreciably increased over those of the past.

Reliance on responsibility in the office of the President is also no great comfort. Many of the abuses that have come to light occurred with either Presidential order or acquiescence. The temptations of power seem to be impossible to withstand. A vigorous press has a role, but even if we were assured that publishers would not squelch stories at the request of the President or the director of Central Intelligence, the press cannot assume total responsibility for investigation, oversight and prosecution. Those roles should also fall to an independent prosecutor.

In addition to these four cornerstones of policy change, the campaign against secrecy and lies would also include:

¶ Mandatory exemption from classification of any information relating to U.S. activities in violation of U.S. laws.

¶ A ban on wiretaps, tapping of telecommunications and burglaries.

¶ The restriction of mail openings, mail covers, inspection of bank records and inspection of telephone records by requiring a warrant issued on probable cause to believe a crime has been committed.

¶ A prohibition against the recording and keeping of files on those attending political meetings or engaging in other peaceful political activities.

¶ The absolute right of Congress to release unilaterally information classified by the executive branch.

¶ The restriction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to criminal investigations.

¶ The removal of the military from any role in civilian surveillance.

¶ The assurance of a wide range of civil remedies to those whose rights have been violated by intelligence officials or organizations, patterned after those now available for victims of unauthorized wiretaps and violations of the Privacy Act.

Whenever the debate in Congress turns to what the President can keep secret—whenever the House of Representatives and the Senate must vote on whether or not to reveal those secrets—the people lose. The President does not have the right of secrecy in peacetime, and that fact should become the major tenet of the debate.

As for the people themselves, it is for them to insist, by their actions and with their votes, that some simple, unsophisticated values such as truth, right and wrong, and national conduct of which we need not be ashamed be restored to national life. Surreptitious and clandestine arrangements eat away our pride in the Republic.

To those who say we cannot afford such changes, the response should be: can we afford not to change? The clandestine policy of the pragmatists has not worked. It has produced only disaffection abroad and disillusion at home. It has resulted in the dangerous erosion of our democratic ideals. Who now is fighting a revolution for democracy?

We can no longer tolerate a government of secrecy, lies and deception, or the subversion of the ideal of consent of the governed. We can no longer afford to accept the facile rationalizations that justify the use of undemocratic methods both at home and abroad. Democracy will fail to survive if its existence is based on undemocratic means. Our best *and only* national security is the truth.

The answer to those who disagree is best expressed in the words of Jefferson: "I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Two Centuries After: Jane Austen

JOSEPH KESTNER

The bicentennial of Jane Austen's birth in 1775 seems comprehensible if we say "200 years." We are shocked if we realize it is "two centuries." This shock is like that in Greek tragedy, a recognition, a re-knowing of an internalized suspicion: she was the turning point. Six completed novels, and one astounding fragment, constitute the legacy, which for over a hundred years readers regarded as an ethical statement, whether satiric or witty or rigid. Another century later, whatever we think of her moral ideas, it is her aesthetic rather than her ethical superiority that we acknowledge. The author of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma* and *Persuasion* has progressed from Jane Austen to "Jane Austen," from reality to virtuality. She has survived the ultimate test—that of form.

"Of all the great writers she is the most difficult to catch in the act of greatness," declared Virginia Woolf. An arresting opinion, particularly because of its continuing validity. The seventh child of a Hampshire minister, Jane Austen appears to have had, on the surface, a conventionally happy childhood, loved by her brothers, worshipping her sister Cassandra, participating in theatricals and excursions. Nevertheless, in 1787, when she writes her first "novels" like "Frederic and Elfrida" and "Henry and Eliza," she already exhibits the artist's recourse to a fictive world, the tendency to endow experience with form. Although these works, comical and farcical, are exaggerated observations of the world, they are also early criticisms of the novel as she finds it, full of unmotivated action, abrupt changes of fortune, catastrophic letters and rediscovered offspring, staples of the cheap fiction circulating during her childhood. At the age of 12, the instinct for greatness is evident in her ability not only to satirize the world but to criticize her chosen form of art. She is distinguished by this sabotage of tradition.

Frequently, people locate her in the "tradition" as the conjunction of two methods of the 18th-century novel, the socio-critical impulse of Fielding (*Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*) and the individual, psychological drift of Richardson (*Pamela*, *Clarissa*) filtered through Fanny Burney (*Evelina*). This "inverted pyramid" theory has some validity when we appraise the content of Jane Austen's work, but it has no validity when we watch her evolve as an artist. There were three particular forms of the novel she set out to demolish: the epistolary, the sentimental and the Gothic.

In 1795 she writes an epistolary novel, *Elinor and Marianne*, but in 1797 she reworks it to eliminate the letter format. When it is published as her first novel in 1811, the new title, *Sense and Sensibility*, reveals that the issue is no longer two separated sisters corresponding but rather two separated states of mind, the Racinian dilemma of whether *raison* or *sensibilité* is the proper ethical guide. In the following year, 1796, she begins another work, *First Impressions*, which in 1813 becomes *Pride and Prejudice*. The story of Elizabeth Bennet and Darcy is the vindication of private love over sentiment, the false feeling mocked in the original title. She challenges in 1798 the Gothic form of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, full of castles, terror, isolated heroine, outcast villain, in a work variously called *Susan* or *Catherine* and published posthumously in 1818 as *Northanger Abbey*; the wife murderer did nothing of the kind, the secret document is a merchant's bill, and the "castle" is inviting rather than harrowing. By her rejection of these three forms, Jane Austen launches herself into her own territory. She found a tradition, but left it, in F.R. Leavis's words, a "great tradition."

This "great tradition" she applied, of course, to the depiction of a world. In the only definition she ever gave, Jane Austen described her art in 1816 as "the little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory on which I work with so fine a Brush." After two centuries, our questions must be, how wide? and then, was it wide enough? One element of her distinction is that she recognized the issue. Writing in the same year to James Clarke, the Prince Regent's librarian, she claimed she could not grant his request to write historical romances, although they "might be much more to the purpose of profit or popularity than such pictures of domestic life in country villages as I deal in. I must keep to my own style." What she is saying is that the pivotal element of her art is exclusion, deliberate delimitation. At a time when the novel was submerged in imaginative, even neurotic, fantasies, Jane Austen advocated control of the imagination as the surest means of proving one had it. To her ideas on marriage, class bias, urban life, sex, family structure, the gentleman, the slave trade, or war, she brought the devastating ironic understatement to bear in a manner best described as seismographic: she recorded the tremors of the problems emerging in the 19th century. Her place in the tradition is of critical importance because she absorbed the past and prepared for the future; that is, she found in her present the Bergsonian "now."

As a woman, there was hardly an angle of feminism that she left unexplored. The entire dilemma of *Pride and Prejudice* evolves from the fact that the Bennet property is "entailed," for lack of male heirs, to the nearest male relation, since women cannot inherit estates. This "legality" accounts for the great pressure exerted on Elizabeth Bennet to marry the heir, Mr. Collins, and keep the property "in the family." Her refusal, startling to her mother and her friends, is a profound rejection of social coercion. In Jane Austen's last completed novel, *Persuasion*, Ann Elliot, old at 27, rejects her cousin for the same reason: a woman had a right to marry or not, and if she did marry, to marry for love. Women declare their individuality by the power of discriminating choice. It is here that the heroines of *Jane Eyre*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Middlemarch*, *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The House of Mirth* have their beginnings. Jane Austen herself rejected several proposals of marriage; not even Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot and Edith Wharton were that independent. Jane Austen's examination of marriage was remarkably objective; in all her novels, many more marriages are unsatisfactory than the reverse. No novel so clearly demonstrates this fact as the first chapters of *Pride and Prejudice*, where Mr. Bennet married for sex, where Mrs. Bennet urges her daughters into loveless unions.

Sexual mores of the time are dealt with in a documentary rather than censorious way. A glance at the writers of the Regency period (1788-1820), like Byron, Shelley, Hazlitt or de Quincy, or at "figures" like Lady Caroline Lamb or Claire Clairmont, not to mention the Regent himself (the future George IV), certifies that Jane Austen's time was characterized by new attitudes toward sexual behavior. While she

Joseph Kestner has published a book on Jane Austen, as well as articles in James Joyce Quarterly *and* Modern Fiction Studies, *among other journals. He has completed a second book on the novel and the arts,* The Spatiality of the Novel, *and is engaged at present on a study of Joyce and Wagner.*

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did not emphasize this aspect of her society, she did not avoid it: Brandon's niece is seduced in *Sense and Sensibility*; Lydia Bennet runs off with a soldier in *Pride and Prejudice*; Maria Rushworth abandons her husband for her lover in *Mansfield Park*; Harriet Smith is someone's illegitimate daughter in *Emma*. These issues do not occur on the fringe of the central action, but, particularly in *Pride and Prejudice* or *Emma*, are catalysts or complications of major ideas.

The entire family structure in these novels seems wavering. In *Sense and Sensibility*, *Emma* and *Persuasion*, she depicts single-parent establishments; Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park* is removed from the squalor of her parents' home; the family life of the Bennets in *Pride and Prejudice*, as Darcy tells Elizabeth, is no cause for rejoicing. The only happy family in the novels is that of the Morlands in *Northanger Abbey*, significantly, the one work Jane Austen did not revise in her maturity.

Society itself is experiencing similar tremors. Marxist critics of Jane Austen indict her for supporting the class system, but her ideas are more disturbed. From 1801 to 1809 she lived in Bath and Southampton, an experience of urban life that revealed the instability of the world the provinces were still taking for granted. As a result, *Mansfield Park*, *Persuasion*, and particularly *Emma* are filled with doubts about the social edifice as England veers toward the Reform movement. In *Mansfield Park*, the forests of Sotherton are being destroyed much as they will be in *The Cherry Orchard*. Emma Woodhouse is hurt when an invitation to a party given by "new" people is delayed, a small but indicative incident. If this woman were secure in her class, why should she care at all? She fears she may be denied the privilege of refusal.

In the same novel, *Emma*, Jane Austen begins to redefine the word "gentleman," moving from the idea of the social gentleman in Fielding, where the word indicated money, class, birth, to the new concept of moral gentility in Robert Martin, a yeoman farmer. This idea will receive its most extended treatment by Dickens in *Great Expectations* and its decisive characterization in Newman's belief that a gentleman is "one who never inflicts pain." Marriages begin to shatter social barriers. The impoverished Fanny Price marries her wealthy cousin in *Mansfield Park*; Elizabeth Bennet marries Darcy (d'Arcy of Norman Conquest lineage) in *Pride and Prejudice*; and Frederick Wentworth (note the name) marries Anne Elliot in *Persuasion*, Jane Austen's only example of male hypergamy, the man "marrying above" himself. The experience of urban life at Bath, the War of 1812 (which finds expression in *Persuasion*) and her awareness of the slave trade in *Mansfield Park*, force us to suspect that Jane Austen would not have found the 1832 Reform Bill so startling. Traveling by means of the newly macadamized roads, groups of beggars caused disturbances like those recorded at the end of *Emma* and noted, a generation later, by Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Those who made the money, as the unfinished *Sanditon* shows, invested it in land schemes that exploited the seacoast. This small trend becomes major by the end of the century, as Ibsen demonstrated in *Enemy of the People*.

The artistry that conveyed these ideas was equally as understated, but Jane Austen left the novel with far more structure than she had found it. As early as *Northanger Abbey*, she declared her belief that novels were important, artistic and intelligent—all revolutionary ideas for her time. Her first legacy for the novel was that she made it, once and for all, respectable; it remained for Walter Scott, one of her earliest admiring reviewers, to broaden its popularity. Her achievements at her craft were indeed done by the "fine Brush." Settings in her novels are completely functional and ideological, not mere stage backdrops. When Elizabeth Bennet approaches Darcy's estate, Pemberley, in *Pride and Prejudice*, she sees a "stream of some natural importance swelled into greater, but without any artificial appearance. Its banks were neither formal, nor falsely adorned." The man and the mansion are one—and this is the only setting described in the novel, the very essence of the art of exclusion. In writing dialogue, fundamentally the most contrived element of any novel, in that it must read as if heard, she found the secret: to make it reaction, not action, in words.

Character (reaction) in her novels is far more important than plot (action), although one may say she is the first to conceive of "plot" as a verb rather than a noun, a verb governed by character. All her novels deal with the plot of marriage not so much for itself as for its catalytic function and symbolic import: marriage provokes reaction and therefore psychological revelation, while to write of it is to write, in microcosm, of the world. In characterization, Jane Austen's achievement was in the brilliant use of the center or filtering intelligence with just enough edge to exercise our ironic sense: "Emma Woodhouse, handsome, clever, and rich. . . seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence." Or, this single sentence from *Pride and Prejudice* that gives the ironic key, when Elizabeth Bennet fails to notice Darcy's early admiration: "Of this she was perfectly unaware." Either of these sentences misunderstood can lead only to serious misreading. Jane Austen's use of "minor" characters is great precisely because they are never minor, never there just to give a sense of "life." In *Pride and Prejudice*, Elizabeth comes to understand Darcy's "pride" when she realizes his sister's "shyness." Jane Austen took the conventional method of parallel and foil characters and made them mutual reflectors. Her characters are neither individual nor typical, but rather show the one in the other.

Problems of style and the problem of the chapter remained concerns all her life. The child who could write "Preserve yourself from a first Love and you need not fear a second" outdid herself in maturity. The opening sentence of *Pride and Prejudice*, "It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife," is justly famous because its aphoristic statement expresses exactly the opposite of what the novel demonstrates, which is, "a single woman in need of a good fortune, must be in want of a husband." Anyone who believes the literal statement is, perforce, a fool like Mrs. Bennet. Yet, the "true" meaning is not "universally" true! The proper presentation of such a style made Jane Austen extremely sensitive to the problem of the chapter. In the early novels,

SIGILS

1.
I was released
as butterfly
from lip of the bright cup

2.
I grew
downward
through dense roots
into the heart
of metal

3.
I poured myself
like water
diminishing
into sand

4.
I crumbled
but my touch
remains
hard on the polished stone

5.
. . . Caterpillar,
from blade to blade
I moved—from life
to life

Frederick Morgan

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the chapters are scenes, in the later, sequences, to accord with the increasing moral complexity of her final works. It is well known that she came to regard *Pride and Prejudice* as "too light and bright and sparkling."

The ultimate achievement of her work is that she is the first English novelist to put us, the readers, in an engaged position to her work, to compel us, by the ironic method, to become participants in the creative process. Unlike many novelists, she did this without puzzles, meaningless symbols, four-letter words, geometry, or addresses to the reader. Virginia Woolf said that "she stimulates us to supply what is not there," the hallmark of the implicative style, the novelist as antagonist. Jane Austen changed not only the novel but the art of the novel from passivity to encounter.

Two centuries after, Jane Austen, the actual person, has become the aesthetic paradigm "Jane Austen." *She* has prevailed. □

'This Woman Is Hysterical!'

SECOND CHANCE TO LIVE: The Suicide Syndrome. *Photographs by George Alpert. Text by Ernest Leogrande. Preface by Art Kiev, M.D. De Capo Press. Unpaginated. $15. Paper $7.50.*

THOMAS HAYES

Unlike other books about suicide, this one is not written by or for intellectuals. Dr. Kiev, clinical associate professor of psychiatry at Cornell University Medical College, contributes a brief and decidedly unclinical preface, and Ernest Leogrande provides information concerning ways in which people who are thinking about committing suicide may get help with their problems, but, for the most part, seven people who have attempted suicide are allowed to speak for themselves. Complementing their words are George Alpert's perceptive photographs. Together the words and pictures examine the private worlds of these persons and reflect the pain, torment and loneliness that drove them to despair.

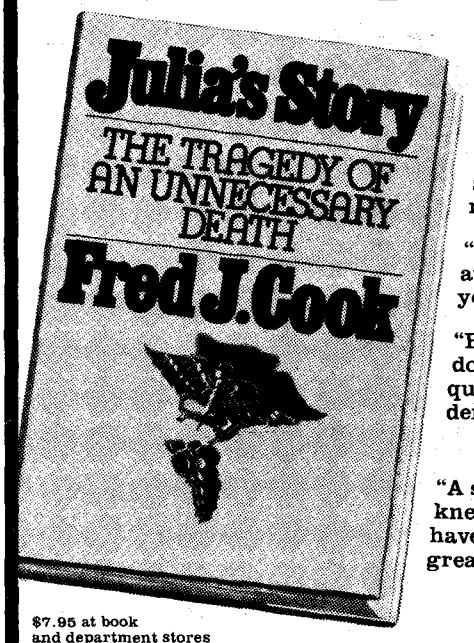
Since the book contains no psychiatric jargon or erudite philosophizing, we see and hear these victims of attempted self-murder not as case histories in a textbook or symbolic characters in a melodrama but as living, suffering human beings. With the artifice and objectivity of clinical and literary terminology removed, the authenticity of these people is, at first, embarrassing. Studying these photographs and reading these words is not pleasant. And as the embarrassment itself turns into a source of contemplation, we confront our own psyches, our own problems, for everyone has, at some time, thought about self-extinction. The next reaction is an attempt to push these words and faces out of mind, to dismiss them with a shrug. What, after all, do these poor souls have to do with healthy, active, life-affirming people? But, relentlessly, the words and pictures cut through the desire to keep them at a safe distance. Stripped of pretension and hypocrisy, these words and faces mirror, in myriad ways, everyone's impulses to end their lives suddenly and violently.

The idea of the book is simple, so simple that the question of why it has not been done before may be answered only by an awareness of the enormous courage necessary to undertake it. First there is the courage displayed by the seven people in talking about what they did and allowing a man with a camera and a tape recorder into their homes, into their lives, to document their innermost thoughts and feelings. Many people are justifiably wary of such exposure, such vulnerability, before two of the most potent weapons that can be aimed at the integrity of the individual. As Diane Arbus and Andy Warhol have shown, the camera and the tape recorder may be used ruthlessly. Therefore equally important is the courage of George Alpert, who entered these people's lives not to expose and exploit them, not to rob them of their dignity and self-respect but as a friend. He approached them in the same spirit that Walker Evans approached Southern sharecroppers and Oscar Lewis approached Latin American peasants, as one who cares, one who listens and watches for the spark of life. Alpert rejects the impulse to sensationalize and accepts the need to communicate.

First, Dorian, a child of the drug culture, wants perpetual excitement and likes "looks and money about equally" in a man. Her stark assailability, platinum hair, and overt sexuality show that Marilyn Monroe's legacy is still with us. Fred, an old man with cancer, wants to know why he

Thomas Hayes is a member of the SoHo Photo Gallery in New York City, where he exhibits his work.

A commonplace tragedy: the operation was a success, but the patient died.



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has "got to suffer for nothing" after twenty operations. Roberta, middle-aged and divorced, knows that suicide runs in families and that she was looking for "daddy" in her marriage: "I didn't talk to my father for three years while I was home. I would eat dinner early and lock myself in my room. I was of the impression that he was a son of a bitch and my mother was a saint. Now we're friends." She, like the others, has little faith in psychiatry and sees its practitioners as parasitical know-nothings. Her suspicion regarding psychiatrists carries over to all men in positions of authority: "My doctor who had attended me through the pregnancy walked into the room the day after the miscarriage and he said, 'How's the baby?' He didn't remember. 'Nurse,' he said, 'this woman is hysterical!' " To her, suicide is not so much a feeling of sadness as it is an overwhelming and inescapable experience of being cornered, of being trapped or "used up." "Hopeful people," she adds, "don't make suicide attempts."

Margo, lost without a man, is fiercely dependent on others, particularly her young son, and this terrifies her. But Roy, the son of a brutalizing military father, fears dependence as much as she clings to it. Like Dean Swift, he longs to escape into a microcosmic better world: "If I think about dying, I wonder who's going to take care of my animals and plants." Then there is Frances, the mother who devoted her life to raising her children only to see them grow up and leave; "it seems," she says, "like I always depended on other people for my happiness." Finally, Audrey, a dark-eyed young woman who has found love, does not want to talk about her suicide attempt but does not mind being photographed with her lover. "He and I," she has discovered, "are very important. . . . Us being together."

These people's words and faces evoke a cathartic purging of pity and fear. We remember that one of the greatest American plays concerns the suicide of an ordinary salesman. And just as Willy Loman's fate is tragic because he is torn away from his chosen image of himself, the lives of these people have a tragic dimension because they assert the need for human contact once that image has been stripped away. They do not feel sorry for themselves, nor do they try to frighten us with their self-destructiveness. What they want, above all, is to be accepted for what they are—ordinary people—and to be allowed to help, to participate, in life. Attention must be paid to such people. They may have had all the wrong dreams; they may not have known who they were, but, as their actions attest, they did not wish to die in vain. □

IN THE DARK

I'm seated beside my phone
waiting for a call
that will tell me everything
is settled, nothing to worry about
from now on; live as you've always
wanted to, and I keep waiting.
Only the night brings me
to lie down, in expectation
of the phone, still beside me,
ringing in the dark.

David Ignatow

Popular Art, Popular Criticism

AMERICA IN THE MOVIES: Or, "Santa Maria, It Had Slipped My Mind!" *By Michael Wood. Basic Books. 206 pp. $10.*

CLAY STEINMAN

In bad years and good, the industrial producers of classical Hollywood films had one perennial, and so far enduring, success: they convinced their consumers that their product was equally accessible to all, that everyone could be a critic; and no doubt they also sometimes managed to win adherents to the notion that the consuming public was the best critic of all—that even minimally self-taught reviewers were at fault for somehow lacking the innocence of the avocational viewer.

If everybody is a critic, then no one is, and as a consequence people have been slow to recognize the value of extended training in film criticism. Then, too, if everybody is a critic, the essence of a film is what can be gleaned from a single viewing or perhaps two, or re-viewing if retrospective analysis is involved. The detailed shot-by-shot, in some cases frame-by-frame, analysis which is impossible in the ordinary viewing context, becomes irrelevantly esoteric by these criteria.

Effort justification naturally infects us all—everybody, I suspect, likes to think their own approach the best—and routine moviegoing does provide its own rewards. But so does detailed knowledge, and movies no less than painting, sculpture, literature, drama or music, provide the raw material for serious criticism only when seriously studied. Because of their industrial origins, and the industry's conventional demands, corporately produced films are considerably more immediately accessible than, say, the independently made works of Stan Brakhage or Kenneth Anger. But that doesn't mean that, to varying degrees, they are any less susceptible to analysis of their forms.

A consequence of what might seem to be a superficially democratic notion of corporate film—that it is equally accessible to all who pay attention and the price of a ticket—is that criticism too often is at the level of the attentive but not rigorously informed viewer. That may be inevitable in regular criticism of new films, since journalist-reviewers have no other option than to record their immediate reactions to what they have seen. But it results in criticism largely concerned with what seems immediately apparent—what a film seems to "mean," what it seems to be "saying"—criticism largely unconcerned with what a film *is* in its specific construction.

Criticism of this type may be entertaining, even provocative, as Michael Wood's at times certainly is. A professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia, Wood has sought to discern "the extent to which the structures of moral and mental life in America, and elsewhere, correspond to structures to be found in films." He limits his musings to Hollywood films, circa 1939-63, specifically to just a few of what he considers their concerns—in simplified form, as Wood himself puts it: "that loneliness is glorious, that women are carnivorous, that nice guys finish last, that appearances are suspicious, that the lynched man is always innocent, that confidence in confidence will see us through, that excess is splendor." In doing so, he mentions some 200 films, and he has developed several insights worth considering.

Although he goes at his task in a number of ways, two of his methods seem comparatively compelling: elucidating the essence of star persona and noting how persona or genre changed over time. Despite its basic value, auteurist analysis of directorial work has frequently underestimated the resilience of star persona from film to film, persona no doubt industrially fostered. In films of the period he is writing about, Wood finds, for instance, that

> A consistent thread in traditional isolationism, perfectly echoed in [Humphrey] Bogart and other lonely heroes, is a worry, not about your enemies, whom you face with reckless daring, but about your friends, and the demands they will make on you after the war, the contamination of an essential liberty which they will represent. You hesitate, not about combat and not about which army to support, but about the strings to be tied around your neck.

To make the analysis, he draws upon the events of the time. From there to an illumination of an enduring aspect of American maleness is an easy, intriguing step.

Clay Steinman is a former journalist who now studies and writes chiefly about films.

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Wood's point is that such attitudes in Hollywood films reflect and in a way contribute to the shaping of the audience's viewing of itself in the world. Entertainment, he says, meaning film, "is not, as we often think, a full-scale flight from our problems, not a means of forgetting them completely, but rather a rearrangement of our problems into shapes which tame them, which disperse them to the margins of our attentions." And there they stubbornly remain, never completely exorcized.

Similarly compelling is his view of the American musical, particularly the MGM musical, running broadly from Victor Fleming's *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) to Vincente Minnelli's *Bells Are Ringing* (1960). Paradigmatic for the genre in that period, he argues, is the change in world view that can be seen from Gene Kelly and Stanley Donen's *On the Town* through their *Singin' in the Rain* to their *It's Always Fair Weather*—a change, Wood suggests, from exuberant optimism to ambivalent insecurity. That evolution, he points out, can be reasonably related to the change in the social context in which those films were made, from 1949 to 1951, and then to 1955.

Reduction is dangerous here because he is dealing with personal reaction, though he only acknowledges it occasionally. With rare exceptions—discussion, say, of Robert Rossen's *The Hustler* (1961) or *It's Always Fair Weather*—Wood provides extratextual summaries, largely of seeming plot concerns, rather than precise descriptions of what is happening on screen. And such summaries are inevitably personal. Which gets us back to the problems I referred to at the outset.

It's not hard for me to share Wood's response to many of the films he mentions because I haven't studied them in detail, and his recollections are close to my own. But when he comes to areas where I happen to have some specialized knowledge, I begin having problems with his work, and that for me puts much of the rest in question. He makes several small factual errors or omissions, for example, erroneously claiming that *film noir* was "the work primarily" of the Warner Bros. studio, when even a glance at the growing literature on the genre of darkness and unease shows that not to be the case.

More serious, I think, and rooted in Wood's failure to look closely at what he studies, are his ill-informed analyses of certain films that require detailed work. Though he may have spent a good deal of time formulating and thinking about his basic points, his comments on the films of Alfred Hitchcock seem distressingly offhand.

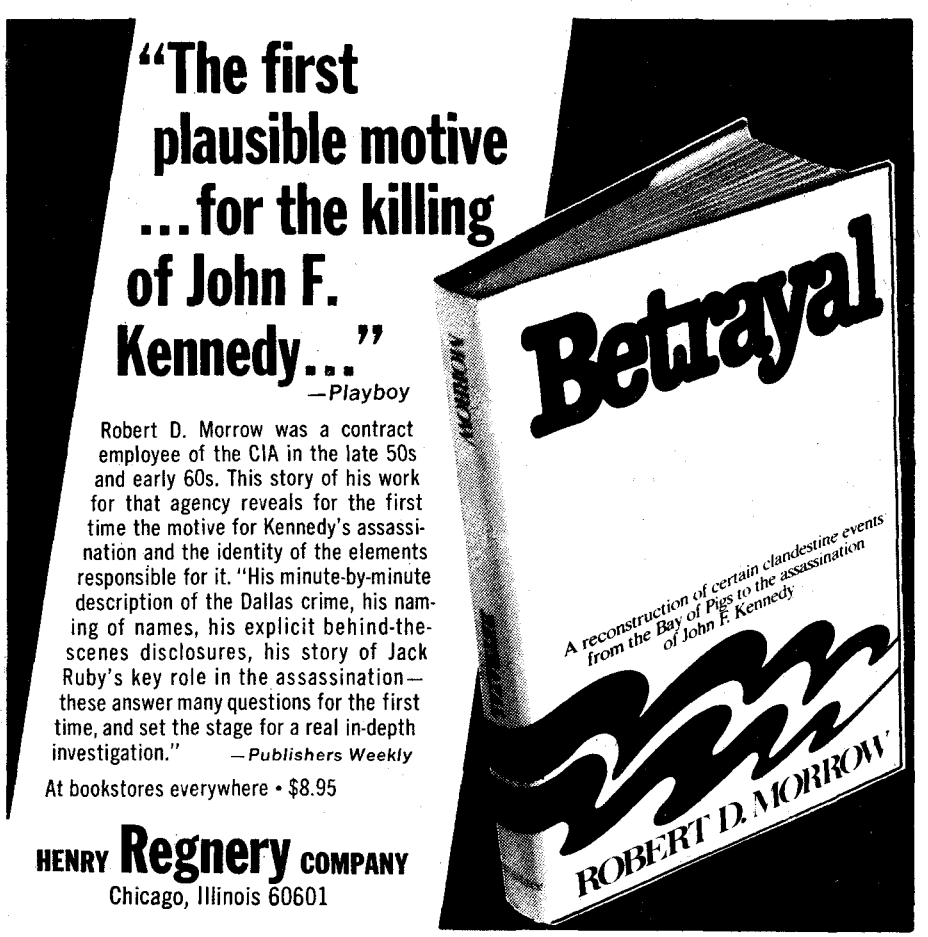
> The way to approach Hitchcock, it seems to me, and the way to answer the vexed question of whether he is an artist or not, is to stop looking for individual Hitchcock films that will come up to scratch (most of them don't), and to stop looking, too, for the outline of an *oeuvre* embodying a rich and coherent view of life. Lost causes, vain quests. We should look for moments in Hitchcock's work. . . .

Wood goes on to discuss those moments he likes, that mean something to him. But his views on Hitchcock's work show he plainly hasn't studied Hitchcock *in detail*, and one wonders how it would have affected his analysis if he had. I haven't the space here to sketch out a defense—Robin Wood's *Hitchcock's Films* provides a worthwhile starting point for that—and in any case my point is that the films themselves constitute the best and only comprehensive argument for Hitchcock's talent. Close analysis of the bulk of Hitchcock's work reveals systems of formal construction of extraordinary interest and complexity.

As the holes in Michael Wood's survey appear, his overall analysis begins to lose its strength. His tone seems refreshingly modest at first—in various ways he repeatedly says that many of his assertions are tentative—but the scope of his book constitutes a claim that his work is comprehensive. His gaps seem to leave areas of research untouched that might undercut the rest in ways of interest to more than just those academically curious about Hollywood film.

Besides the problems inherent in his treatment of Hitchcock's films, Wood's error on *film noir* indicates a lack of familiarity with the diversity within that genre. And his comments on the spectacle film, to take just one more example, seem potentially skewed by his failure to account for two films that are, arguably, quite different from the DeMille tradition, paradigmatic for Wood, of "excess is splendor": David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Spartacus* (1960), directed by Stanley Kubrick from Dalton Trumbo's script, both of which, it might be said, constitute critiques, though from different perspectives, of the conventional excess-is-splendor notion.

Despite Wood's complex formulations, and his evident talent for extrapolating interesting social commentary from movie themes, whether one agrees with his analyses or not, it just might be impossible to discuss intelligently anything about Hollywood film as a whole for a period of some twenty-five years on the basis of 200 films. As Andrew Sarris has noted in a similar context, over 4,000 films were produced in Hollywood in the 1940s alone, 2,700 or so by the major studios. Unless Wood can claim his sample is representative, his raw material, thinly analyzed, might be too thin in quantity as well. "One can prove everything and nothing with random plot cita-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A reconstruction of certain clandestine events from the Bay of Pigs to the assassination of John F. Kennedy
ROBERT D. MORROW

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tions," as Sarris has said.

Inductive theory is possible without devoting one's life to the screening room, but comprehensive description is a tricky business at best. More than other modes of mass communication and creative expression, movies seem to attract the kind of inadequately supported anecdotal analyses that Wood has given us so engagingly. His concerns are important ones, yet, as developed here, they fail to take into account the massiveness and depth of the body of work they draw upon—work, I suspect, that at its most highly crafted will endure far longer than such periodic attempts at thematic encapsulation that intend to entomb, as sufficiently analyzed, the artifacts of the past. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

These comments on Balanchine's new *Union Jack* for the New York City Ballet are written in mid-flip. At first viewing, May 13, much of it seemed trivial nonsense; as an entity much too long, possibly because it did not appear to be an entity at all. On second viewing, much of it is pleasing nonsense. Its point of view no longer seems to meander; rather, it too slips over and over, too ambiguously perhaps but nevertheless indicative of something cooking. Length is still a problem, the solution of which, however, is more complicated than first appeared. *Union Jack* is an embryonic three-act ballet squeezed into an hour's time. It is also a two-acter with an *entr'acte*. It might also be a one-acter followed by two epilogues. Patently, *Union Jack* in its present form is wildly unwieldy, a plum for self-appointed doctors. First time round, my own doctoring was to excise everything but the first ceremonial part, which runs thirty-five minutes. Now, the last section, a ten-minute nautical spree, seems absolutely essential, while all the dances of the first section, totaling twenty minutes, loom as superfluous. The crucial point about *Union Jack* is that somewhere in it is one ballet with important themes. The question is what and where.

In some sense part one of *Union Jack* is a stand-in for *The Sleeping Beauty* that the New York City Ballet will perhaps never produce. It tells us about the dignity inherent in spectacle and proves that reveling in spectacle by no means diminishes that dignity. Balanchine switches the locale of the spectacle from the Maryinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg to Edinburgh. He divides a seventy-man court into seven regiments, each wearing a traditional tartan uniform. The first ten minutes of *Union Jack* is marching. Each regiment parades through a frivolously conceived London Bridge (a twofold inconsistency, one geographic, the other stylistic) toward the center of the stage. It halts for four drum rolls, marches in a maneuver, halts again for four beats, and parades to the side of the stage. As one regiment is moving to the side, the next is already entering through the bridge. A galaxy of blues, reds, greens, yellow, black and white swell the stage in great waves, while the four-beat halts freeze each wave at its crest. The momentum is incredibly lush; the colors glorious; the number of personnel overwhelming, and the variations in marching pattern delightful. The crux of this ceremony, though, is those four-beat halts. They tilt the extravaganza into something austere, perhaps a little barbaric. They beam a glimmer of light onto the ritual underlying the ceremony, but rather than deny the splashy glamour of ceremony or the gleeful skill with which Balanchine arranges hordes in a limited space, they suggest a continuum of time between the Celts and Rockettes.

At this point *Union Jack* could pursue that continuum or find another parallel between the traditions of the military and ballet. The latter thread serves as a resolution to this Scottish section, when all the regiments parade on again and, filing into couples, execute promenades in arabesque and *grands devéloppés à la seconde* to the tune of *Amazing Grace*. It's the translation we've been waiting for, and I'm sorry Balanchine doesn't make more of it. Instead, he has devised five Highland jigs to Scottish tunes that have been amplified and dressed up by Hershy Kay. From the solemn splendor of the opening tattoo, *Union Jack* about-faces into a two-regiment jig led by Jacques d'Amboise and Helgi Tomasson. It's the first of the flips, and it might have succeeded were the regimental variations more rollicking than they are, and more quasi-Rockette than quasi-ethnic. The music is a problem as well, not only because of repetitious rhythm. Each of Kay's orchestral layerings causes an artificial break in momentum. Regardless of whether Balanchine also changes gear or ignores the new musical chapter as it is introduced, each dance unfolds in choppy reprises of what came before. Not surprisingly, the best of these dances—and a very rousing one by any standard—is accompanied by nothing but drums. Led by Karin von Aroldingen, it gives free play to her emphatic strength, while the absolutely naked dazzle of drum beats brings Balanchine back to the original point of *Union Jack*—its unequivocal celebration of spectacle. With its fast, driving leg kicks and punchy syncopations, this dance also iterates the sub-threads between military and Broadway parade. Each is a whopping good show.

The second flip takes us from *Amazing Grace*'s splendors to a costermonger *pas de deux* for the Pearly King and Queen, Jean-Pierre Bonnefous and Patricia McBride. He carries a red rose and large handkerchief; she carries a flask. Together they enact for the audience's pleasure and, presumably for the benefit of their own wallets, a soap opera about courtship, followed by some genteel soft-shoe. As in the regimental variations, where Balanchine is caught betwixt and between ethnic dance and ballet, here he uncomfortably jiggles between vaudeville and ballet. As also in the first variations, the best part is the most straightforward. Bonnefous does a pure soft-shoe routine, and the delight of the dance is not only its transparent treatment of style but Bonnefous's amazing feel for it. Here a Russian-born choreographer designs English music-hall paces for a Frenchman, with native-tongue results and without the strained tongue in cheek that marks the duet. It's that perfectly innocent melting pot of culture first manufactured when Balanchine cast Bonnefous in *Who Cares*, the only difference being that Bonnefous plays an idealized Astaire in *Who Cares* and an apple-cheeked Dickensian comic in *Union Jack*. His comic aspect has been foreshadowed too, when he makes a scurrying late entrance in the Stravinsky *Violin Concerto*. The improbable logic of Bonnefous's travels between Stravinsky, Gershwin and music hall provides a worthy framework for the costermonger section, but at present I do not see how the Bonnefous phenomenon justifies a fifteen-minute span or how that span fits into the larger framework.

Instead of functioning as a discrete *entr'acte*, it is a holding action for the final sailor dance, which lampoons and harpoons happy-go-lucky sailor lore. In its not so innocent innocence, this section both undercuts and reinforces the majesty of the Scottish tattoo. Balanchine perpetrates a giant attitudinal flip that in some deep way isn't a flip at all and in another way is a grosser flip than one dare imagine. How he can have it both ways is *Union Jack*'s marvelous paradox. My delayed and still tentative recognition of this feat is what leaves me in mid-flip.

Whereas costume in the Scottish section is authentic-looking and authentically glamorous, the sailor outfits of the Royal Navy are almost indecently cute, outrageously imitative. Whereas the jigs are quick, the sailors' hornpipe dances skitter. The Scottish dancers are buoyant; the sailors goofy. Peter Martins, in his towering hat of fur, is the most resplendent of the Scots; he's the dopiest of the sailors, an oversized clod who doesn't know aft from a girlie sailor's behind. (At a dress rehearsal

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he was reading his steps from a script. Evidently, he was preparing himself mentally for the role.) He and d'Amboise's sailors make broad mimetic gestures spelling boat; other sailors' smiles spell cute. Suzanne Farrell, the most provocatively swaying of the Scottish marchers (her hip action constituting the most endearing misunderstanding of style I have ever seen), becomes an outright sassy tart as the leader of Wrens. Peering through imagined telescopes, they're on the lookout for boys at Fort Lauderdale, and their jaunty, strutting dance is a veritable unleashing of the chorus-line metaphor that has been simmering all along. Finally, the deeply felt pomp of the military maneuvers is turned upside down in the ballet's departing tribute to Great Britian. The sailors pass semaphore flags to one another and as a Union Jack descends at the back of the stage, they signal in marine code, *God Save the Queen*. They could just as well be spelling "authentic," so outlandish is this piece of realism.

The difference between Scotland and Brittannia is that the first is real fake and the second, fake fake. The tattoo comes across as a personal interpretation of a public theatrical spectacle; the second throws a predigested myth back on itself. One is a tribute; the other a mockery. Strangely, they neither cancel each other out nor follow the conventional argument of on the one hand, on the other. Rather, *Union Jack* presents the beautiful and the ridiculous through a bifocal lens, united by joyous brio. Incongruity in *Union Jack*—and there is plenty of that as well as flips—seems to be less a matter of content than of pace and tone. The problem with the costermonger duet is not vaudevillian language or parody but weepy pace and arch humor. The problem with the Highland flings is not their lack of grandeur but of snappy dazzle.

Dazzle is what the best parts of *Union Jack* are about, and this too is presented bifocally. Somewhere in *Union Jack* the beautiful is a chunk of the sublime; and somewhere in *Union Jack* the ridiculous is a streak of bitter cynicism. The sublime is in the marching, and although diluted by jigs, it is manifest. The cynicism is more complicated an aspect. It resides in the brilliant smile which kills, and it's living somewhere in the sailor jamboree. I don't think it can become fully manifest until it follows hard on the heels of *Amazing Grace*'s nobility, clonking us in a double-whammy, turning us about in a tailspin before we can anticipate it—and smiling, smiling all the while.

At the end of my second *Union Jack* I was thoroughly elated and charmed and unable to shake off an image of those lovable sailors bayoneting everyone in sight with vim and vigor. *Union Jack* is the New York City Ballet's Bicentennial offering. □

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THEATRE / Harold Clurman

The Runner Stumbles by Milan Stitt is an honestly written, intelligent, well-acted play (The Little Theatre). Though structured in part as a sort of whodunit melodrama, it is essentially a love story. A special interest is attached to this because those in love are a priest and a nun. At the very outset he is seen handcuffed in prison, awaiting trial on the charge of having murdered her.

The play is based on just such a trial in Michigan at the turn of the century, but the time set for the events here recounted is 1911, the place being a small town in that state. The priest, Father Rivard, a studious and learned as well as a wholly devout man, has been ordered to establish a church in the town, where there has been none of Catholic denomination for nine years. (Most of the inhabitants are Protestant.) The assignment is suspiciously "punitive," because the Monsignor, secretary to the Bishop, is envious or resentful of Rivard's intellectual ambition or arrogance, and wants him humbled.

A novice, Sister Rita, has been appointed to assist Rivard in the customary duties of his office, among them the education of the children of the parish. She is a loquacious, lively, cheerfully eager person who becomes Rivard's confidante, the only person capable of offering him the kind of understanding he so urgently needs in his quasi-sequestration. Two other older nuns in the diocese are ill and, in any case, of far less attractive character and disposition.

We know from the play's opening scene that Sister Rita has been murdered and, since it has been rumored among the children under her tutelage that Rivard had become intimate with her and was the last person to have spoken to her before she was found battered to death in a nearby garden, it is assumed that he must be guilty of the crime. And it is indeed true that they had fallen in love, an emotion which he vehemently resisted and to which she impetuously lent herself.

Divers elements enter into the situation. Rivard, in all respects an intense man, rendered particularly high-strung in his isolation and incensed at its cause, is also passionate in his religious faith. As he became ever more aware, through Sister Rita's natural ardor, that he was being tempted to sin, he began to rationalize his rejection of her through highly charged theological disputation. The temptation, he insisted, was a test of his vocation; evil itself is of God's making, for without its powerful grip on humankind, virtue would have little meaning. It did not occur to him that he might resign his function in the Church and marry Rita, who finally wrested from him an avowal of love.

Here then, among other things, is desire repressed by a sorely tried conviction in the man of the sanctity of his holy function. But sexual frustration as well as jealousy, coupled with fanatic belief in the purity of priesthood and in the faith of which he is the immediate vessel, is embodied in the person of Mrs. Shandig, Rivard's housekeeper, a convert from Protestantism who has joined the Church in reaction to a hard-pressed existence and the sexual coarseness in the community in which the action takes place.

The play moves back to the recital and enactment of past events and forward to the trial in which still more of the surrounding circumstances are revealed. All this is continuously interesting, especially as performed on bare wooden platforms by an excellent company under Austin Pendleton's discreet direction.

The play's shortcoming is that, while all the story's facets are well indicated, there is not enough probing beneath what is declared nor enough eloquence in the declaration. The writing is spare, almost ascetic, because, it would seem, the author does not wish to commit himself beyond a sympathy for all concerned, does not wish to engage himself in their suffering or unbosom himself as to some clear view of the matter that he himself holds. Thus the play, while remaining believable, does not stir the viewer to a truly concerned questioning, to indignation or to deep perturbation.

What most firmly holds us is the acting, especially the attractiveness, charm and spiritual candor of Nancy Donohue as Sister Rita, the subdued force of Sloane Shelton as Mrs. Shandig and the emotional fluency of Katina Commings, as another one of the parishioners. Stephen Joyce brings an integrity of mind and feeling to the role of Father Rivard, and James Noble, who looks a bit like a more rugged and plausible Jimmy Carter, is especially likable as the awkward lawyer for the defense.

In the tiny auditorium of the Urban Arts Corps, 26 West 20th St., "a musical entertainment" called *I'm Laughin' But I Ain't Tickled* is being shown for a limited run. The music and lyrics are by Micki Grant, herself a most winning singer (though she does not appear in this show) and the author of *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope*, a success several seasons ago. The whole has been "conceived" (directed) with scrupulous deftness by Vinnette Carroll. The

KINDS OF WAITING

for the appropriate stranger
exploding into rows of light,
more light than I endure

when washing and my hands swim.
kites would be easy to grasp
I cannot let go of hands

for snow to come out of hiding:
a few yellow trees
hold umbrellas in the fog

my track when cross-country skiing.
clumsy as seals, the lines
draw parallels, are twice-born

when not one thing lets me enter.

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musical numbers, accompanied by much dancing, are correlated to verses by Langston Hughes and many other black poets.

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Two additional thoughts recurred to me as I left the performance. The first, which is no longer a matter of special knowledge, is that for some years the best of our theatre is not only to be found in modest spots away from Broadway but frequently has its origin in other towns. *The Runner Stumbles* was first produced at the Manhattan Theatre Club and by the Hartman Theatre Co. in Stamford, Conn., as similarly, David Rabe's *Streamers* came from the Long Wharf Theatre of New Haven. Second, I am impelled to reiterate that a production may owe its overall effect not so much to any single factor which composes it but to the whole spirit of the event, *conveyed through its actors*, as in *A Chorus Line*, *Tuscaloosa Calling Me, But I'm Not Going* (Westside Theatre, 402 W. 43rd St.) and now in *I'm Laughin' But I Ain't Tickled*. Theatre does not live by texts alone. □

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CHOPIN: 24 Preludes, Op. 28; Berceuse in D-flat major, Op. 57. Alicia de Larrocha, pianist. London CS 6952. $6.98.

CHOPIN: 24 Preludes, Op. 28; Prelude in C-sharp minor, Op. 45; Prelude in A-flat major, Op. posth. Murray Perahia, pianist. Columbia M 33507. $6.98.

CHOPIN: 24 Preludes, Op. 28. Maurizio Pollini, pianist. Deutsche Grammophon 2530 550. $7.98.

"Preludes to what?" asked André Gide of Chopin's Op. 28. "I find it hardly easier to imagine any one of these Preludes of Chopin followed by any other piece in the same key, be it by the same author, than all of these Preludes of Chopin played immediately one after the other." Yet this last is exactly what most recordings present—and not a few pianists in concert as well; are they wrong?

The reference of the title, its literal significance aside, is certainly to Bach, and Chopin's twenty-four Preludes Without Fugues are, like Bach's, allocated to the twelve major and twelve minor keys. But the sequence of each book of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* is that of convenience, moving through the keys upward from C to B, with a piece in major and minor on each step; in short, a compendium of individual essays. Had Chopin intended each of his (much shorter) Preludes to be, as Gide proposes, "a prelude to a meditation," he might well have ordered them as did Bach. He preferred a sequence that provides maximum identity of pitch content from one piece to the next—that is, despite the new tonal center of each successive piece, its scale retains as many as possible of the notes present in the scale of the previous one. Thus, behind the manifold chromatic colorations and harmonic stratagems, and of course the violent textural, tempo, and dynamic contrasts between adjacent Preludes, there is an underlying continuity that can hardly have been accidental.

Once one accepts this intention, other subtler connections emerge: for example, the majority of the Preludes in major keys end with the third degree of the scale on top of the final chord—the note that, in the scale of the succeeding piece, will be the second most important one. (Sorry if that sounds complicated, but it's perfectly easy to hear in, say, the succession of Preludes Nos. 3 and 4, where the top note of No. 3's final chord is identical to the initial pitch of No. 4's melody.) These major-minor pairings are singled out by Pollini; although the producer has banded his record in groups of four pieces, the audible pauses group them in twos. Perahia's groupings are less regular, but sensible and thoughtful. I hear little evidence that de Larrocha (or her producer) has thought about the question; her record has no separating bands whatsoever.

Pollini's playing is throughout admirably straightforward, perfectly controlled, and always respectful of the printed notes; one could happily live with these performances—until one has heard Perahia's, the best of which succeed brilliantly in limning and characterizing the individual pieces with a minimum of the kind of interpretive license that mars Cortot's almost surrealistically vivid old recording. There is so much detail in Perahia's performances: the varied articulation that fully carries out the implications of Chopin's pedal markings in the E-flat Prelude (No.19), the gentle (and very difficult) distinctions made among the swirling figures in the F-sharp minor Prelude (No. 8), the powerfully edgy run in thirds that climaxes the final piece, and much more.

Against this, the flaws seem trivial: one slightly "off" note briefly clouds the F-sharp Prelude (No. 13), the balance of the hands is not quite comfortable in the G minor (No. 22), and the tone of the piano at ultimate climaxes is forced. But musical intelligence and spirit is more tangible and exciting in Perahia's performance than in either of the others.

Mme. de Larrocha's traversal might best be described as "workmanlike," though it is sometimes ponderous in thought and execution—in the E major Prelude (No. 9), she sets herself the unenviable task of following the more complex interpretation of Chopin's apparently ambiguous notation, with little success.

I don't envy the amateur trying to determine from these three separate sets of liner notes when Chopin wrote the Preludes. Deutsche Grammophon has in fact the most reliable information, based on recent research, while the Columbia and London essays march, in descending order, to the depths of uninformed sentimentality. London's semi-literate blurb would be unforgivable except for a treasurable misprint of Schumann's famous phrase as "canons buried in flowers." Can anyone suggest a piece to which this new reading would apply? □

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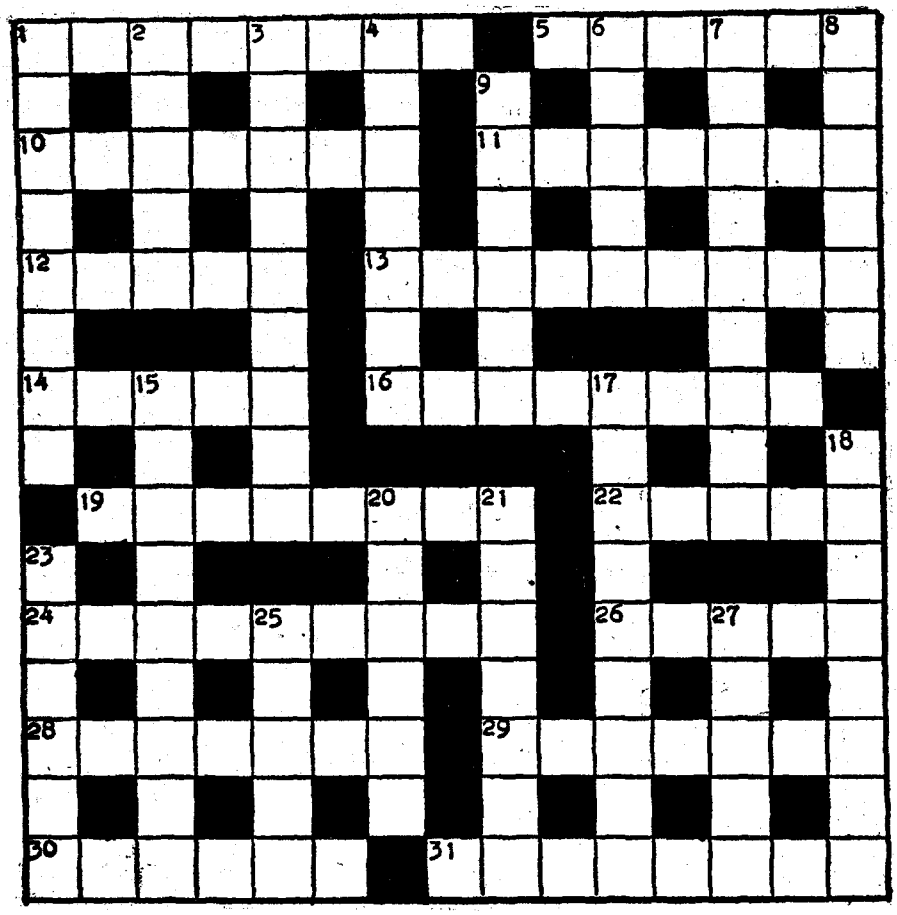
Crossword Puzzle No. 1635

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 More precious than gold, fair maiden! Fair maiden, indeed! (8,6)
10 Drink like a bee? (7)
11 Poles with no top about them as an express example. (7)
12 The type of joint likely to bring back a specific musical group. (5)
13 Size that could represent a couple of dozen? (3-2-4)
14 A caller without it could show what's on the cap. (5)
16 Ay, we did a bit of a shuffle, and faded. (4,4)
19 See 8 down
22 August often has such spirit. (5)
24 Have a complete loathing this way. (9)
26 Art work may be supported by it. (5)
28 Part of a meal, perhaps, but not the well-done part. (7)
29 Some leaders might not be quick to lie so. (2,5)
30 and 9 down Theoretically you've had to work for it, it should be reported. (6,6)
31 One of three well-known characters remaining under orders for the radical movement. (4,4)

DOWN

1 and 23 Definite fee assigned, possibly denoted by a plus sign. (8,6)
2 A right held by a foreigner, perhaps. (5)
3 Where to look for wide command responsibility, by and large. (2,7)
4 With no star to be under, at a different setting. (7)
6 Lean and long. (5)
7 Countrymen. (9)
8, 27 and 19 New York construction, obviously. (6,5,8)
9 See 30 across
15 Words at first might give one some difficulty. (9)
17 You would never consider one a nonstarter. (9)
18 Most like St. Nicholas of song. (8)
20 Small arms associated with the sea. (6)
21 A common man with a message of support? (7)
23 See 1 down
25 Loud and powerful? Don't you believe it! (5)
27 See 8 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1634

ACROSS: 1 and 9 First person singular; 10 Deaths; 11 Open-air; 14 Belong; 15 Hatracks; 17 Mansions; 20 Coddle; 22 Fiddler; 24 Antioch; 26 Births; 27 Examples; 28 Come to order. DOWN: 2 Ingenious; 3 Solving; 4 and 16 Pure and simple; 5 Redcoat; 6 Ovals; 7 Ripple; 8 Shrink; 13 Whist; 18 Alibis; 19 Oversee; 20 Centaur; 21 Locker; 23 Ditto; 25 and 12 Hero worship.

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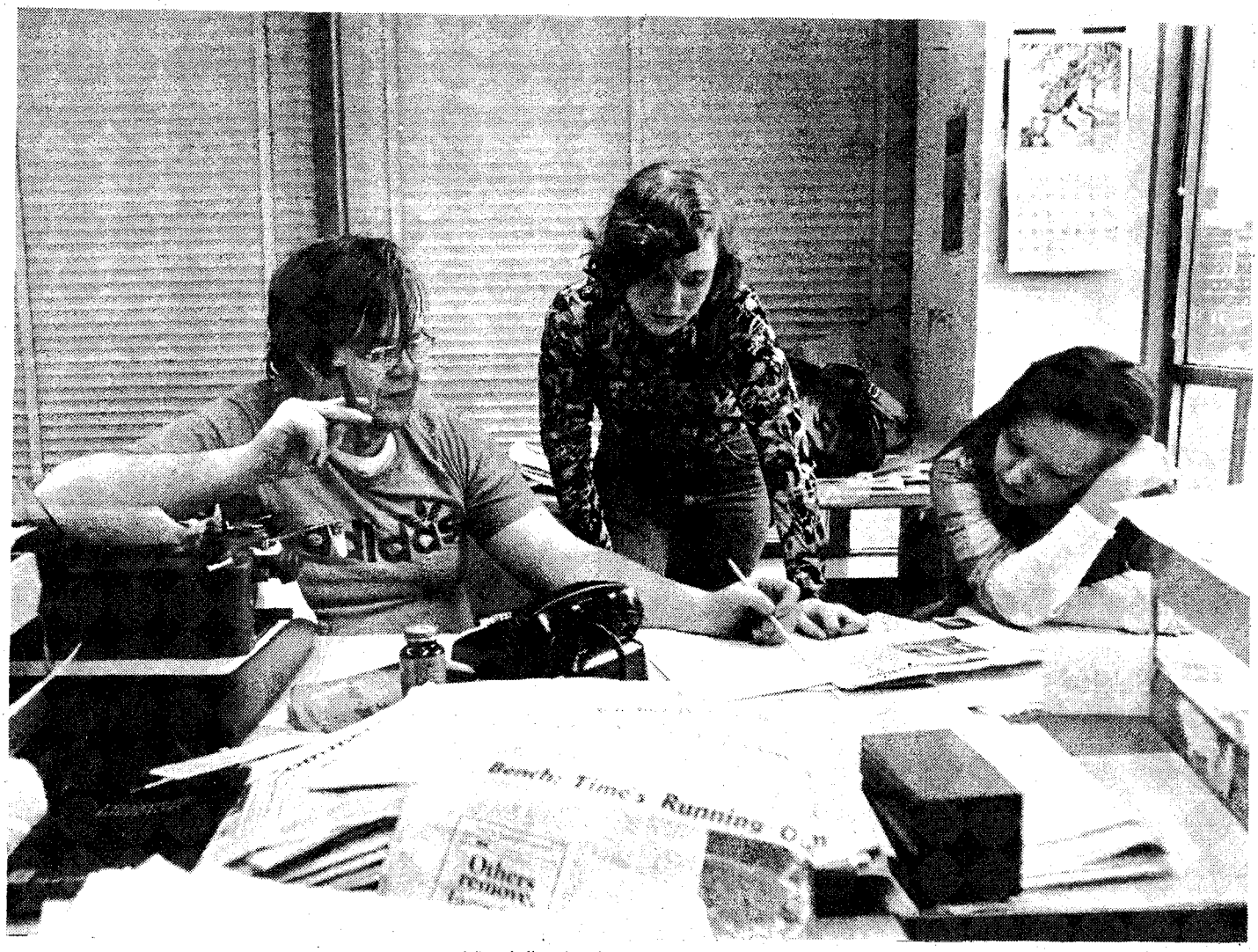

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